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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

II

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Plutarchus

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

II

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR
CIMON AND LUCULLUS

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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MCMXIV

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the first volume of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles,* Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe

6597

series of annotated texts ; that of Blass, *Themistokles und Perikles,* Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts ; and the same editor's *Aristides und Cato,* Leipzig, 1898, in the same series. All these editions bring F^a and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. This has been done also by Holden, in his edition of the *Themistocles* (Macmillan, 1892).

The translations of the *Themistocles, Aristides,* and *Cimon* have already appeared in my "Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides" (New York, 1901), and "Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles" (New York, 1910), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Camillus, Cato,* and *Lucullus* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared aud utilised, including that of the *Lucullus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
February, 1914.

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THEMISTOCLES

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

I. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν·

Ἀβρότονον Θρῄϊσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι
τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησίν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θρᾷτταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἁλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι.

Διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου

THEMISTOCLES

I. In the case of Themistocles,[1] his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles,—no very conspicuous man at Athens,—a Phrearrhian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her epitaph testifies :—

"Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace, yet I brought forth
That great light of the Greeks,—know! 'twas Themistocles."[2]

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning

[1] It is probable that one or more introductory paragraphs of this biography have been lost. [2] Athenaeus, xiii. p. 576.

δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

3 Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλός ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστόρηκεν.

II. Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρρᾳθύμει, καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὑρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων.

2 ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς "Οὐδὲν ἔσῃ, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν." ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν[1] παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων.

3 Ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἁρμόσα-

[1] ὑπερορῶν Sintenis[2] with the best MSS.; Sintenis[1] and Bekker have οὐχ ὑπερορῶν, *showed attentiveness.*

he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the chapel shrine at Phlya, which belonged to the Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.

II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: "My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil." Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency, he clearly showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertainments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that

σθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἁπτόμενος· Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε.

4 Μᾶλλον οὖν ἄν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε[1] καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὖσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἣν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἤδη πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν.

5 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὑτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιουμένῃ μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξισταμένῃ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πώλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἧς προσήκει τύχωσι παιδείας καὶ
6 καταρτύσεως. ἃ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ

[1] τὴν τότε Fuhr and Blass with S; τὴν.

tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accomplishments of his, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great. And yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist; but he is careless in his chronology. It was Pericles, a much younger man than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos,[1] and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say that Themistocles was a disciple of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called *sophia*, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this *sophia*, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon. His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed "sophists." It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate; as he himself in later life confessed, when he said that even the wildest colts made very good horses, if only they got the proper breaking and training. What some story-makers add to this, however, to the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her

[1] 440 B.C.

πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἑκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ[1] κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται, τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

III. Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἅψασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἡ πρὸς δόξαν ὁρμὴ κρατῆσαι. δι' ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιέμενος ἰταμῶς 112
ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀεὶ πορευόμενον[2] αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν· ἠράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστό-
2 ρηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. πρᾶος γὰρ ὢν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἠναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν.

[1] τοῦ τὰ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τὰ.
[2] πορευόμενον with Bekker and the MSS.; πορευόμενος.

own life for very grief at her son's ill-fame, this I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein, there are some who say that his father fondly tried to divert him from public life, pointing out to him old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and neglected, and intimating that the people treated their leaders in like fashion when these were past service.

III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs laid their grasp upon Themistocles, and his impulse to win reputation got strong mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent. And yet it is thought that his enmity with this man had an altogether puerile beginning. They were both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaüs, a native of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also. However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and a conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favour or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.

3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐρα-
στής, ὥστε νέος ὢν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιά-
δου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐῴη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας ᾤοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἥττην εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς, ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει πόρρωθεν ἔτι[1] προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἐχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἐάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον. ἤκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται[2] πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασ-
2 σαν. ᾗ καὶ ῥᾷον Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι

[1] ἔτι Fuhr and Blass with F^a^S : ἤδη.
[2] νησιῶται Fuhr and Blass with F^a^S : Αἰγινῆται.

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon [1] was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. Now the rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat of the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the war; but Themistocles thought it to be only the beginning of greater contests, and for these he anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of all Hellas, and put his city into training, because, while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that was to come.

IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureium, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against Aegina.[2] This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians—

[1] 490 B.C. [2] 484–483 B.C.

καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς[1] καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὁπλιτῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὑτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος.

4 Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὖθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἧττα, ὡς οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς

[1] αἷς Fuhr and Blass with S: αἳ.

these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with which they actually fought at Salamis[1] against Xerxes.

And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, urging that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbours, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he made them, instead of "steadfast hoplites"—to quote Plato's words,[2] sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: "Themistocles robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing-pad and the oar." And this he accomplished in triumph over the public opposition of Miltiades, as Stesimbrotus relates.

Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very triremes which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me,

[1] 480 B.C. [2] *Laws*, iv. p. 706.

Ἕλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V. Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν 1
οἱ μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδί-
2 μων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἱπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπείλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν.

Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.
3 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι
4 προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα

rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift. When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him for a colt and would not give it, Themistocles threatened speedily to make his house a wooden horse; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they thought they must allow him in such extravagances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so was charged with ostentation. And still again, as choregus, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and

τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· "Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν."

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοὔνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ὥστε που καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν, αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ᾄδων παρὰ μέλος οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον
5 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὑτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI. Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἑκόντας ἐκστῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, Ἐπικύδην δὲ τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δημαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ πράγματα διαφθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους.

ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: "Themistocles the Phrearrhian was Choregus; Phrynichus was Poet; Adeimantus was Archon." [1]

However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magistrate: "You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure; nor I a clever magistrate if I should show favour contrary to the law." And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance. And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a successful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.[2]

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and open to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election; so Themistocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

[1] 476 B.C. [2] 483–482 B.C.

2 Ἐπαινεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον
ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς
καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. ἑρμηνέα γὰρ ὄντα συλλα-
βὼν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φωνὴν
Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε
3 χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἄρθμιον τὸν
Ζελείτην· Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦ-
τον εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος
ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς
Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ κατα-
λῦσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι
τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα τὰς ἔχθρας διὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ὃ καὶ Χείλεων
τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

VII. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν
ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριή- 11
ρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προ-
σωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ
κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐξή-
γαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη μετὰ Λακε-
δαιμονίων, ὡς αὐτόθι προκινδυνευσόντων τῆς
2 Θετταλίας οὔπω τότε μηδίζειν δοκούσης· ἐπεὶ
δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν
βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμήδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιω-
τίας, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσεῖχον οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ
νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων.

Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ

Praise is given to his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission: this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to Barbarian stipulations. Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia: on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the disfranchised, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes. But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to postpone their mutual hatreds because of the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts.

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their triremes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarians by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedaemonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medising. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Boeotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemisium, to watch the narrows.

It was at this place that the Hellenes urged

Λακεδαιμονίους ἡγεῖσθαι κελευόντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων
3 ἑτέροις ἕπεσθαι, συνιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτός τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρῆκε καὶ κατεπράϋνε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνούμενος, ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἑκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πειθομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διόπερ δοκεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνῃ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμίξαντος ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἅψασθαι Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς οἱ Ἕλληνες πρόωνται, κρύφα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ διελέγοντο, Πελά-
5 γοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες. ἃ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.

Ἐναντιουμένου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεὼς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀποπλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν,

Eurybiades and the Lacedaemonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valour and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the Barbarian armament at Aphetae, was terrified at the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciathus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Peloponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Euboeans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themistocles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates,[1] and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow-citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the

[1] viii. 5.

6 ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον ἁρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας[1] ὡς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκεν.

VIII. Αἱ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὤνησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους διδαχθέντας, ὡς οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων οὔτε κραυγαὶ κομπώδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι δεινὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι καὶ μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων καταφρονοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμ-
2 πλακέντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε συνιδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν·

Ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν
κρηπῖδ' ἐλευθερίας·

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν.

Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑστίαιαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπταμένος, ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ

[1] παρόντας Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: πολίτας.

more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Phanias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of the Barbarians in the narrows were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that neither multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle-hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end. Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium:—

"Where Athenians' valiant sons set in radiance eternal
Liberty's corner-stone."[1]

For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Euboea above Hestiaea, —a sea-beach stretching away to the north,—and just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory

[1] Bergk, *Frag.* 77.

Φιλοκτήτῃ γενομένης χώρας Ὀλιζών. ἔχει δὲ
ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Προσηῴας, 11
καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στῆλαι κύκλῳ
λίθου λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ χειρὶ
τριβόμενος καὶ χρόαν καὶ ὀσμὴν κροκίζουσαν
3 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγεῖον ἦν
τόδε γεγραμμένον·

Παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο
Μήδων,
σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

δείκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ
θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους
ἀναδιδούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναυάγια
καὶ νεκροὺς καῦσαι δοκοῦσι.

IX. Τῶν μέντοι περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ
Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων[1] πυθόμενοι Λεω-
νίδαν τε κεῖσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν Ξέρξην τῶν κατὰ
γῆν παρόδων, εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο,
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένων δι' ἀρετὴν
καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φρονούντων. παρα-
πλέων δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ᾗπερ
κατάρσεις ἀναγκαίας καὶ καταφυγὰς ἑώρα τοῖς
πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων ἐπιφανῆ
2 γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εὑρίσκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ'

[1] ἀπαγγελλόντων Fuhr and Blass with F[a]S : ἀπαγγελθέντων.

once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed *Proseoea*, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron. On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed :—

"Nations of all sorts of men from Asia's boundaries coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was destroyèd;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis." [1]

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messengers from Thermopylae to Artemisium that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valour, and greatly elated by their achievements. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed conspicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and

[1] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] p. 480.

αὐτὸς ἱστὰς περὶ τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκήπτων Ἴωσι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δ' ἤλπιζεν ἢ μεταστήσειν τοὺς Ἴωνας ἢ ταράξειν ὑποπτοτέρους τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους.

3 Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἄνωθεν ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν Φωκέων ἄστη πυρπολοῦντος οὐ προσήμυναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν. μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ὡρμημένων συνάγειν, καὶ διατειχιζόντων

4 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας εἶχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διενοοῦντο μυριάσι στρατοῦ τοσαύταις· ὃ δ' ἦν μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφῦναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, ὡς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν τε ἱερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἠρία προϊεμένων.

X. Ἔνθα δὴ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ

watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Athenians, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom; but if they could not do this, to damage the Barbarian cause in battle, and bring confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succour. The Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think; and as for the only thing left them to do in their emergency, namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships, most of them were distressed at the thought, saying that they neither wanted victory nor understood what safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers.

X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by

ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ χρησμοὺς ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανὴς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς εὑρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἡ θεὸς ὑφηγουμένη
2 πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγώγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα θείαν, οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν καλεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπώνυμον ἐσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνάων μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σώζειν ἕκαστον
3 ὡς δυνατόν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς[1] καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψη- 1
φίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναι

[1] γενεὰς Madvig's correction, adopted by Blass: γονέας *parents.*

any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude,—Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,—that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea. Moreover, with the well-known oracle [1] he tried again to win the people over to his views, saying that its "wooden wall" meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis "divine," not "dreadful" nor "cruel," for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes. At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a bill providing that the city be entrusted for safe keeping "to Athena the patroness of Athens," but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives, and servants, such safety as each best could. Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and

[1] Herod., vii. 141.

πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθούς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

4 Οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀριστοτέλης μέν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν πορίσασαν ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, Κλείδημος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὧν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορῆσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων.

5 Ἐκπλεούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἶκτον τὸ θέαμα, τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρεῖχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλῃ προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ συντρόφων ζῴων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων ἐμβαίνουσι
6 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τροφεῦσιν. ἐν οἷς ἱστορεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ τριήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν

besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

Since the Athenians had no public moneys in hand, it was the Senate of Areiopagus, according to Aristotle, which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Cleidemus represents this too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess; and then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, many who were left behind on account of their great age invited pity also, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked. A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam across the strait by the side of his master's trireme,

εἰς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὗ καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σῆμα τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI. Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ δι' ὀργὴν τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστράκιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει ψήφισμα, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν ἐξεῖναι κατελθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.

2 Εὐρυβιάδου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, αἴρειν δὲ βουλομένου καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἤθροιστο τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγεν· ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονευόμενα λεχθῆναί φασι. τοῦ γὰρ Εὐρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος· "Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους ῥαπίζουσι," "Ναί," εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, "ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ
3 στεφανοῦσιν." ἐπαραμένου δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη· "Πάταξον μέν, ἄκουσον δέ." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ προέσθαι

and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say that the spot which is pointed out to this day as "Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he might join himself to the Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,—he had been ostracized before the war in consequence of political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,[1]—he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, "Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning," "Yes," said Themistocles, "but those who lag behind get no crown." And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: "Smite, but hear me." Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calmness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to bring him back to his own position. But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had cities of their own

[1] Cf. chap. v. *fin.*

τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν
4 λόγον· "Ἡμεῖς τοι," εἶπεν, "ὦ μοχθηρέ, τὰς μὲν
οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἀξι-
οῦντες ἀψύχων ἕνεκα δουλεύειν, πόλις δ' ἡμῖν
ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακόσιαι
τριήρεις, αἳ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ
σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν βουλομένοις, εἰ δ' ἄπιτε
δεύτερον ἡμᾶς προδόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεταί τις Ἑλ-
λήνων Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν
5 οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἧς ἀπέβαλον." ταῦτα
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε
τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπο-
λείποντες οἴχονται. τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρω- 11
μένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, "Ἦ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ
ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἳ καθάπερ αἱ
τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ
ἔχετε;"

XII. Λέγεται δ' ὑπό τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστο-
κλέα περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος
ἄνωθεν τῆς νεὼς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ' ὀφθῆναι
διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῖς
καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαν· διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυ-
2 μαχήσοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὅ τε
στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν προσ-
φερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυψεν αἰγιαλούς,
αὐτός τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ
καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους ὤφθη, τῶν
δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων, ἐξερρύησαν οἱ τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν
ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,

to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed his speech with emphasis to him, saying: "It is true, thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake of such lifeless things to be in subjection; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if you choose to be saved by them; but if you go off and betray us for the second time, straightway many a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for themselves a city that is free and a territory that is far better than the one they cast aside." When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades began to reflect, and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away and abandon him. And again, when the Eretrian tried to argue somewhat against him, "Aha!" said he, "what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought to be?"

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right and alight in his rigging; wherefore his hearers espoused his opinion most eagerly and prepared to do battle with their ships. But soon the enemy's armament beset the coast of Attica down to the haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the neighbouring shores; then the King in person with his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could be seen with all his hosts; and presently, in view of this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themistocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and the Peloponnesians again turned their eyes wistfully towards the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spake

εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς
3 κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν.

Ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμάλωτος, εὔνους δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων
4 αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἱρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρεῖναι φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ταράττονται τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτι-
5 κὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἥσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ' ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων.

6 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου πρῶτος αἰσθόμενος ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ ὢν φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐξωστρακισμένος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται· προελθόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν. ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς

of any other course; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous affair of Sicinnus.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paedagogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say: "Themistocles the Athenian general elects the King's cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power." Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have said; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, Aristides told him how the enemy surrounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for

εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς
7 ναυμαχήσωσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπῄει στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παροξύνων. ἔτι δ' ὅμως ἀπιστούντων ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἧς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν, ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρμῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

XIII. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθῆστο τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ᾗ βραχεῖ πόρῳ διείργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἡ νῆσος, ὡς δ' Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὧν ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα.

2 Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ἰδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταΰκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ 1

his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they were,—admitting that he had the greater credit with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle. And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panaetius, and told how the enemy surrounded them, so that with a courage born of necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger.

XIII. At break of day, Xerxes was seated on a high place and overlooking the disposition of his armament. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleium, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border-land of Megara, above the so-called "Horns." Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle.

But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral's trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King's sister, and Artaÿctus. When Euphrantides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth

δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι
3 τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε.

XIV. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Πέρσαις λέγει ταῦτα·

Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιὰς μὲν ἦν
ὧν ἦγε[1] πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δὶς ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος οὐσῶν ἑκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὁπλῖται.

2 Δοκεῖ δ' οὐκ ἧττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ τὸν τόπον συνιδὼν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρῴρους καταστῆσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν

[1] ὧν ἦγε Fuhr and Blass with Aeschylus: νεῶν τὸ.

its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the Barbarian ships, Aeschylus the poet, in his tragedy of "The Persians," as though from personal and positive knowledge, says this :—

"But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand ships
In number under him; those of surpassing speed
Were twice five score beside and seven; so stands the count."[1]

The Attic ships were one hundred and eighty in number, and each had eighteen men to fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arms.

Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his triremes bow on against the Barbarian vessels until the

[1] Verses 341–343 (Dindorf).

ὥραν παραγενέσθαι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἀεὶ καὶ κῦμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατάγουσαν· ὃ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς ἁλιτενεῖς οὔσας καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑψορόφους καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπίπτον καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀξέως προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ὡς ὁρῶντι μάλιστα
3 τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ Ξέρξου ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναῦν ἔχων μεγάλην ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε καὶ ἠκόντιζεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιότατος. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Παιανιεὺς[1] ὁμοῦ πλέοντες, ὡς αἱ νῆες ἀντίπρῳροι προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συνερείσασαι τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς αὐτῶν τριήρους ὑποστάντες καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέβαλον· καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετ' ἄλλων διαφερόμενον ναυαγίων Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην ἀνήνεγκεν.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος φῶς μὲν ἐκλάμψαι μέγα λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἦχον δὲ καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχειν πεδίον ἄχρι θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ πολλῶν τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἴακχον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φθεγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφερόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὖθις ὑπονοστεῖν καὶ κατασκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἕτεροι δὲ φάσματα

[1] Παιανιεὺς correction of Blass: Πεδιεύς.

hour of the day had come which always brought the breeze fresh from the sea and a swell rolling through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the water and were rather small; but for the Barbarian ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and sluggish movements in getting under way, it was fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because they thought he saw best what was to be done, and because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins, —brave man that he was, by far the strongest and justest of the King's brothers. It was upon him that Ameinias the Deceleian and Socles the Paeanian bore down,—they being together on one ship,—and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognised by Artemisia, who had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession. Then out of the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes. Others fancied they saw apparitions and

καὶ εἴδωλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριηρῶν· οὓς εἴκαζον Αἰακίδας εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν.

2 Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τριηραρχῶν, ἧς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυῆσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο, μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ὡς εἴρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς οὔθ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἴργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ[1] Θεμιστοκλέους.

XVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι 1
θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεῦγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, "Ὅπως," ἔφη, "τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβωμεν."
2 δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι, "Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἂν δὲ κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος

[1] δεινότητι τῇ Fuhr and Blass with S: δεινότητι.

shapes of armed men coming from Aegina with their hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes. These, they conjectured, were the Aeacidae, who had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to come to their aid.[1]

Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, who cut off its figure-head and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel-bearer at Phlya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus "bore away," as Simonides says,[2] "that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valour and common ardour of all who fought their ships, but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the intervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order," said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said: "Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compulsion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will

[1] Herod. viii. 64. [2] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] p. 423.

ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσῇ θεάσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρὼν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρειμένα καὶ βουλεύσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων·
3 οὐ τὴν οὖσαν οὖν," ἔφη, "δεῖ γέφυραν, ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἡμᾶς ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν, εἴπερ οἷόν τε, προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης." "Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, "εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὥρα σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγήσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος."

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην ὄνομα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινας διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ
5 μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πεῖραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII. Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεῦσαί φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ

no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will dare all things, and, superintending everything in person, because of his peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then," said he, "tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather, we must build another alongside it, if that be possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry." "Well, then," said Themistocles, "if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route."

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the strait was spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with exceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Plataea with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus[1] says that Aegina bore away the prize of valour; but

[1] viii. 93.

ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδοσαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς
2 ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.

XVIII. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἱρεθεὶς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο[1] τὸ προσπῖπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι.

[1] ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἀνεβάλλετο *every duty.*

among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valour, but for Themistocles as second after himself. Then the Lacedaemonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valour, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary. And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honour, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform any public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone the immediate duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.

2 Τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δ' ἑπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· 1 "Ἀνελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶ Θεμιστοκλῆς." πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, Ἀντιφάτην, ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, "Ὦ μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ὀψὲ μέν, ἀμφότεροι δ' ἅμα νοῦν ἐσχή-
3 καμεν." ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ χειμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κινδυνεύοντας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος."

4 Ἑτέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι χρήσιμον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου πράξεσιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι λέγουσαν, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχολιῶν τε μεστὴ καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δ' ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν· "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα·" "κἀμοῦ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τότε
5 μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;" τὸν δὲ υἱὸν

Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, while to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said: "Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles." Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but afterwards courted him because of the reputation he had got, "Young man," said he, "'tis late, 'tis true, but both of us have come to our senses." Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honour and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, running under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him. And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, "True," said he, "but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldst thou, hadst thou been an Athenian."

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and began to compare his own services with his, "With the Festival-day," said he, "the Day After once began a contention, saying: 'Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand'; to which the Festival-day replied: 'True, but had I not come first, thou hadst not come at all.' So now," said he, "had I not come at that day of Salamis, where would thou and thy colleagues be now?" Of his son, who

ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίοις δ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον. ἴδιος δέ τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.

XIX. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὡς δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἧκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες
2 ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυΐαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν

lorded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy. Again, with the desire to be somewhat peculiar in all that he did, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbour into the bargain. Of two suitors for his daughter's hand, he chose the likely man in preference to the rich man, saying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man. Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the city, — as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyarchus was sent expressly from Aegina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedaemonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and

ὅλην ἁρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθη-
3 ναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνεθίσαι ζῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδοσαν λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶ δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε
4 τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ηὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δ' ἧττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς διενοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν 19
Ἑλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατῆρεν εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινα πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ὠφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
2 πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδῃ φράσαι μόνῳ κελευόντων, κἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαί-

wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena, how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges, and so won the day. But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes[1] the comic poet says, "knead the Piraeus on to the city," nay, he fastened the city to the Piraeus, and the land to the sea. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater designs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the fleet of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at Pagasae and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution.

[1] *Knights*, 815.

νειν, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ, τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον παρελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν.

3 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθείς, μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῖπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πυλαγόρων,
4 διδάξας, ὡς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθὴς περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἷα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἥκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθὼ καὶ Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'

Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay; but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or more iniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conventions, the Lacedaemonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small; it would be intolerable, then, if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities. It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedaemonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favour, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus[1] says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows: he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion; and they replied that they already had two great

[1] viii. 111.

αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ Ἀπορίαν,
2 ὑφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρήματα ἐκείνῳ.

Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος μελοποιὸς ἐν ᾄσματι καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον προεμένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

Ἀλλ' εἰ τύγε Παυσανίαν ἢ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιππον αἰνεῖς
ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδαν, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω
ἄνδρ' ἱερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν
ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῷστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆ' ἤχθαρε Λατώ,
3 ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ξεῖνον ἔοντ'
ἀργυρίοις σκυβαλικτοῖσι πεισθεὶς οὐ κατᾶγεν
εἰς πάτραν Ἰαλυσόν,
λαβὼν δὲ τρί' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,
τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ καίνων,
ἀργυρίων ὑπόπλεως, Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανδόκευε γελοίως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων·
οἱ δ' ἤσθιον κηὔχοντο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλεῦς γενέσθαι.

4 πολὺ δ' ἀσελγεστέρᾳ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημίᾳ κέχρηται μετὰ

gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timocreon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed Themistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus[1]:—

"Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or if Xanthippus,
Or if Leotychidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all
Who came from sacred Athens; since Leto loathes Themistocles,

"The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon was his host,
By knavish moneys was induced not to bring him back
Into his native Ialysus,
But took three talents of silver and went cruising off,—to perdition,

"Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away, and slaying some,
Gorged with moneys; yet at the Isthmus he played ridiculous host with the stale meats set before his guests;
Who ate thereof and prayed Heaven 'no happy return of the day for Themistocles!'"

Much more wanton and extravagant was the raillery which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles

[1] No attempt is made in the translations of Timocreon to imitate the metre of the original.

τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων ᾆσμα ποιήσας, οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
κλέος ἀν' Ἕλλανας τίθει,
ὡς ἐοικὸς καὶ δίκαιον.

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν
5 συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταῦτ'
ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μοῦνος Μήδοισιν ὁρκιατομεῖ,
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κἄλλοι δὴ πονηροί· οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνα κόλουρις·
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώπεκες.

XXII. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθο- 12
νεῖν ἡδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγκάζετο
λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὑτοῦ πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν
τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας "Τί κοπιᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;" ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἣν Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα
2 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βουλευσάμενος, πλη-
σίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ ἱερόν, οὗ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων οἱ δήμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσιν. ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους

after the latter's own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning :—

> "O Muse, grant that this song
> Be famed throughout all Hellas,
> As it is meet and just."

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of Medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. Accordingly, when Themistocles also was accused of Medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him : –

> "Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with the Medes,
> But there are other wretches too; not I alone am brushless,
> There are other foxes too."

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents : "Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you?" He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed *Aristoboulé*, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have dispatched themselves by hanging. A portrait-statue of Themistocles stood in this

εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεταί τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος.

3 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὓς ᾤοντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

XXIII. Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἄργει τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεωβώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν, ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὁ γὰρ Παυσανίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
2 καίπερ ὄντα φίλον· ὡς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα[1] τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν

[1] γράμματα Fuhr and Blass with F^3S : τὰ γράμματα.

temple of *Aristoboulé* down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.

Well then, they visited him with ostracism,[1] curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying and alleviating that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pausanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Themistocles; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own undertakings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give information of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own

[1] About 472 B.C.

αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.

3 Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγόρουν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα
4 ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις· διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἔγραφεν, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἀεὶ ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκὼς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἄν ποτε βαρβάροις αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις[1] ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν[2] αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

XXIV. Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας. Γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτὴς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἄποικον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἤπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγὼν πρὸς
2 Ἄδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ

[1] αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: καὶ πολεμίοις αὐτόν. [2] ἀνάγειν Fuhr and Blass with S: ἄγειν.

accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on Themistocles. The Lacedaemonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens—so he wrote, as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians, much less to foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before a Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corcyra, where he had been recognized as a public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities. Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favour of the Athenians and

Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, 12
τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτῃ φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἱκέτης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς ἴδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον.
3 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἱκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιτο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγῳδῆσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν.
4 Ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστειλεν· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος. εἶτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαί φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἱέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψαμένου[1] δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπᾶραι.

[1] ἀποτριψαμένου Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀπυστρεψαμένου.

had been insultingly refused it by Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after, and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king's mercy, making himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw himself down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused. Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanction to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epicrates of the deme Acharnae, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, somehow or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.

XXV. Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἱέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνήν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλῦσαι τοὺς ἵππους
2 ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης δέ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη τῶν πλεόντων, μέχρι οὗ πνεύματι τῆς ὁλκάδος εἰς Νάξον καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι καὶ
3 λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανερῶν γενομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια ταλάντων κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ᾔσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἐργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἦν γὰρ ἡ θήρα λυσιτελὴς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι,

XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work "On Royalty," tells how, when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing. And Thucydides[1] says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege,[2] he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes, —in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia. Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopompus,—Theophrastus says eighty,—and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cymé, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus,—for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since

[1] i. 137. [2] About 469 B.C.

διακοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγάς, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε.
2 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὄλβιος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ[1] ταυτί·

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχήλῳ·
3 γενόμενον δ' ἀετόν, ὡς ἥψατο τοῦ προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἐξᾶραι καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτου στῆσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα.

Πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανη- 1
σαμένου τι τοιόνδε.[2] τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπόν
4 ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηνὰς κύκλῳ

[1] ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀνεφώνησε μέτρῳ. [2] τοιόνδε Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τοιοῦτον.

two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,—he fled to Aegae, a little Aeolic citadel. Here no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in Aeolia, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days. During this time, after the dinner which followed a certain sacrifice, Olbius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and uttered the following verse:—

"Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night shall give thee victory."

And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald's wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress.

However that may be, he was sent on his way by Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set

περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρός τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως.

XXVII. Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν· Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ
2 οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταττομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ λέγων, Ἕλλην μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς ἃ τυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δέ φησιν· "Ὦ ξένε, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά· καλὸν δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα
3 κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητα λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς,

upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King's courtiers.

XXVII. Now Thucydides[1] and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his interview; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are by no means securely established. Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the most lively concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied: "O Stranger, men's customs differ; different people honour different practices; but all honour the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honour the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful

[1] i. 137.

ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνή-
4 σαντος." ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφῖγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε πείσομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν. ὥστε τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς
5 βούλομαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν." "Τίνα δ'," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος, "Ἑλλήνων ἀφῖχθαί σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτῃ τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας." καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· "Τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἄν," ἔφη, "πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως."

Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ὁ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλίαρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔστη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν· "Ἥκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγὼ φυγὰς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων διωχθείς, ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἴκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαί
2 τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς

for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead, for it is not a custom of this country that the King give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance." When Themistocles heard this, he said to him: "Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the King's fame and power, and I will not only myself observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand in the way of the words I wish to speak to him." "And what Hellene," said Artabanus, "shall I say thou art who hast thus come? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding." And Themistocles said: "This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King."

So indeed Phanias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book "On Wealth," adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.

XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpreter's asking, he said: "I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to

παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστι, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀφῖγμαι δέξασθαί τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησικακοῦντος ὀργῆν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἱκέτην σόν,
3 ἀπολεῖς δ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον." ταῦτ' 1
εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν ὄψιν, ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας.

Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Πέρσης, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καίπερ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν
4 τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευξάμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς· "Ἔχω Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον."

XXIX. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσῆγεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν[1] ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τοὔνομα παρόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς

[1] οὐδὲν Fuhr and Blass with F^a^S: μηδὲν.

my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favour of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy." After these words Themistocles spoke of divine portents in his favour, enlarging upon the vision which he saw at the house of Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonaean Zeus, how when he was bidden by it to proceed to the namesake of the god, he had concluded that he was thereby sent to him, since both were actually "Great Kings," and were so addressed.

On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply to him, although struck with admiration at the boldness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends it is said that he congratulated himself over what he called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Arimanius ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive their best men away from them; and then sacrificed to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his cups; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers, for very joy called out thrice: "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and bade Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favourable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and

λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ χιλίαρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιών, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν· "Ὄφις Ἕλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ
2 βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἤγαγεν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἤδη μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ διακόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειν· κομίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι· πολλῷ δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἃ βούλοιτο, παρρησιαζόμενον.

3 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἴδη, συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε βα-
4 σιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνηγεσίων βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν, ὥστε

spoke insultingly to him. And besides, Roxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone: "Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King's good genius hath brought thee hither." However, when he had come into the King's presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he already owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. And he promised him much more besides, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time. The King at once showed his pleasure at this comparison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favourites, the magnates became jealous of Themistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honours he enjoyed were far beyond those paid to other foreigners; nay, he actually took part in the King's hunts and in his household diver-

καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν
5 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελευσθεὶς ᾐτήσατο τὴν κίταριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν ἀνεψιὸς ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας ἁψάμενος· "Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ' οὐκ
6 ἔσῃ Ζεὺς ἂν λάβῃς κεραυνόν·" ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὸν Δημάρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἴτημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἀνεκράθησαν, ὁσάκις δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν ἕκαστον, ὡς μείζων
7 ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τραπέζης αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης[1] πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα." πόλεις 1
δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX. Καταβαίνοντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνὴρ

[1] αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης Bekker, Fuhr with F^aS: παρατεθείσης.

sions, so far that he even had access to the queen-mother and became intimate with her, and at the King's bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore. And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaustes the King's cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus: "This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt." The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be inexorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for him: "My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before."[1] Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely: Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanias, namely: Percoté and Palaescepsis; these for his bedding and raiment.

XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a

[1] Thuc. i. 138.

Ἐπιξύης ὄνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευακὼς ἔκπαλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ[1] Λεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ φανεῖσαν εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λέοντων, ἵνα μὴ λέοντι περιπέσῃς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν Μνη-
2 σιπτολέμαν." διαταραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφῆκεν, ἑτέρᾳ δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατηυλίσατο.

Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑποζυγίων ἑνὸς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον. οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες ᾠήθησαν εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κἀκεῖνον
3 ἔνδον εὑρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησιπτολέμαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI. Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν

[1] κώμῃ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : πόλει *city*.

Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the village called Lion's Head, and take up his night's quarters there. But while Themistocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods [1] appeared to him in a dream and said: "O Themistocles, shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid." Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles hung up the curtains which had got wet, and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess.

XXXI. When he had come to Sardis and was

[1] Rhea, or Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené, from Mount Dindymon, in Phrygia.

ἄγων ἐθεᾶτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶδε δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῆν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἑλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἴτε δὴ παθών τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθήματος εἴτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσην ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίας σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν αἰτούμενος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν
2 κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολήν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν κατέφυγε καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνόν τε κατεπράϋνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἤδη καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.

3 Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλέουσαι καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ κωλύειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἤδη

viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called Water-carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself, when he was water commissioner at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honour and power he had in the King's service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens. But the Barbarian was incensed and threatened to write a letter to the King about it; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women's chambers, and, by winning the favour of the satrap's concubines with money, succeeded in assuaging his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circumspectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Barbarians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopompus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honoured like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time without concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid,[1] and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were

[1] 459 B.C.

δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμ-
πουτο καὶ κατέβαινον[1] ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστο-
κλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντος
4 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι'
ὀργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε
ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν[2] ἡγούμενος
τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχού-
σης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς 12
εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον
αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος
5 ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσε
τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιω-
σάμενος, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον
πιών, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγ-
κάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς
τοῖς ἑξήκοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τού-
των ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν
τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα
λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν
φιλανθρώπως.

XXXII. Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ
μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Κλεόφαντον,
οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς ἱππέως ἀρίστου,
τἆλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει.

[1] κατέβαινον Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: κατέβαινον εἰς Μαγνησίαν.

[2] οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: οὐκ ἐφικτὸν.

despatched hither and thither, and messages came down to Themistocles saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and power he was to have in the war, but possibly thinking his task not even approachable, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,[1] most of which had been spent in political leadership. They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness.

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippé, the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé, namely: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleophantus, the last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else.[2]

[1] Thuc. i. 138. [2] *Meno*, p. 93.

τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσαν-
2 δρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο. θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους ἔσχεν, ὧν Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὢν ὁμομήτριος ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης ὁ Χῖος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἤδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.
3 Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Μάγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων οὔτ' Ἀνδοκίδῃ προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους λέγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρρῖψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς), ὅ τε Φύλαρχος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονοὺ μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ Δημόπολιν, υἱοὺς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, ὃ οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοή-
4 σειεν ὅτι πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειταί τις οἷον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ᾗ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς

One of his two oldest sons, Neocles, died in boyhood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his second wife, became the wife of Archeptolis her half-brother, Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomaché was given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themistocles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them abroad, for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated. Diodorus the Topographer, in his work "On Tombs," says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the

5 τάφος τοῦ Θεμισκοκλέους. οἴεται δε καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τούς τ'[1] ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
χὠπόταν ἅμιλλα[2] τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαί τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ἃς ἐκαρποῦτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.

[1] τούς τ' corrected by Bekker to οὓς.
[2] ἅμιλλα Bekker has ἅμιλλ' ἢ after Porson.

tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favour of his view when he says :—

"Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place ;
The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry ;
It shall behold those outward, and those inward bound,
And all the emulous rivalry of racing ships."

For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.

CAMILLUS

ΚΑΜΙΛΛΟΣ

I. Περὶ δὲ Φουρίου Καμίλλου πολλῶν καὶ 12
μεγάλων λεγομένων ἴδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ μάλιστα
καὶ παράδοξον, ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις
καὶ μέγιστα κατορθώσας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πεντάκις
αἱρεθείς, θριαμβεύσας δὲ τετράκις, κτίστης δὲ
τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναγραφεὶς δεύτερος, οὐδὲ ἅπαξ
2 ὑπάτευσε. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ἡ τῆς τότε πολι-
τείας κατάστασις, ἐκ διαφορᾶς τοῦ δήμου πρὸς
τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπάτους μὲν ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἀπο-
δείκνυσθαι, χιλιάρχους δὲ χειροτονοῦντος ἐπὶ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὧν, καίπερ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ
δυνάμεως ὑπατικῆς ἅπαντα πραττόντων, ἧττον
ἦν ἐπαχθὴς ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· τὸ γὰρ ἓξ
ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δύο, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφιστάναι,
παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς βαρυνομένους τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν.
3 Κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ καιροῦ μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἀκμάσας ὁ Κάμιλλος ὕπατος μὲν οὐκ
ἠξίωσεν ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν τῷ
διὰ μέσου δεξαμένης ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῆς
πολιτείας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡγεμονίαις

CAMILLUS

I. Turning now to Furius Camillus, among the many notable things that are told of him, this seems the most singular and strange, namely, that although in other offices of command he won many and great successes, and although he was five times chosen dictator, four times celebrated a triumph, and was styled a Second Founder of Rome, not even once was he consul. The reason for this lay in the political conditions of his time. The common people, being at variance with the Senate, strove against the appointment of consuls, and elected military tribunes to the command instead. These, although they always acted with consular authority and power, were less obnoxious in their sway because of their number. For the fact that six men instead of two stood at the head of affairs, was some comfort to those who were bitterly set against the rule of the few.

Now it was at this period that Camillus came to the height of his achievements and fame, and he would not consent to become consul over a reluctant people, although during his career the city tolerated consular elections many times. But in the many other and varied offices which he held, he so conducted himself that even when the authority rightly

πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς γενομέναις τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν καὶ μοναρχοῦντος εἶναι κοινήν, τὴν δὲ δόξαν ἰδίαν καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων στρατηγοῦντος· ὧν τοῦ μὲν ἡ μετριότης αἴτιον ἀνεπιφθόνως ἄρχοντος, τοῦ δ' ἡ φρόνησις, δι' ἣν ὁμολογουμένως ἐπρώτευεν.

II. Οὔπω δὲ τότε περὶ τὸν τῶν Φουρίων οἶκον οὔσης μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτος εἰς δόξαν προῆλθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους ὑπὸ δικτάτορι Ποστουμίῳ Τουβέρτῳ στρατευόμενος. προϊππεύων γὰρ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκείμενον τῷ τραύματι παρέλκων τὸ ἀκόντισμα καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς
2 ἀρίστοις τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων γερῶν ἔτυχε καὶ τιμητὴς ἀπεδείχθη, μέγα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα ταύτης ἐπὶ τῶν τότε χρόνων ἐχούσης. μνημονεύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τιμητεύοντος καλὸν μὲν ἔργον τὸ τοὺς ἀγάμους λόγοις τε πείθοντα καὶ ζημίαις ἀπειλοῦντα συγκαταζεῦξαι ταῖς χηρευούσαις γυναιξὶ (πολλαὶ δ' ἦσαν αὗται διὰ τοὺς πολέμους), ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ὑποτελεῖς ποιῆσαι
3 πρότερον ἀνεισφόρους ὄντας. αἰτίαι δ' ἦσαν αἱ συνεχεῖς στρατεῖαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δεόμεναι, καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειγεν ἡ Οὐηΐων πολιορκία. τούτους ἔνιοι Οὐηϊεντανοὺς καλοῦσιν.

Ἦν δὲ πρόσχημα τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἡ πόλις, ὅπλων μὲν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πλήθει τῶν στρατευομένων οὐκ ἀποδέουσα τῆς Ῥώμης, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ βίων ἁβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις ἀγαλλομένη

belonged to him alone, it was exercised in common with others; while the glory that followed such exercise was his alone, even when he shared the command. In the first case, it was his moderation that kept his rule from exciting envy; in the second, it was his ability that gave him the first place with none to dispute it.

II. At a time when the house of the Furii was not yet very conspicuous, he, by his own efforts, was the first of his clan to achieve fame. This he did in the great battle with the Aequians and Volscians, serving under Postumius Tubertus the dictator. Dashing out on his horse in front of the army, he did not abate his speed when he got a wound in the thigh, but dragging the missile along with him in its wound, he engaged the bravest of the enemy and put them to flight. For this exploit, among other honours bestowed upon him, he was appointed censor, in those days an office of great dignity. There is on record a noble achievement of his censorship, that of bringing the unmarried men, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to join in wedlock with the women who were living in widowhood, and these were many because of the wars; likewise a necessary achievement, that of making the orphans, who before this had contributed nothing to the support of the state, subject to taxation. The continuous campaigns, demanding great outlays of money, really required this. Especially burdensome was the siege of Veii (some call the people Veientani).

This city was the barrier and bulwark of Tuscany, in quantity of arms and multitude of soldiery no whit inferior to Rome. Indeed, pluming herself on her wealth, and on the refinement, luxury.

πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἠγωνίσατο περὶ δόξης
4 καὶ δυναστείας πολεμοῦσα Ῥωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῷ
τότε χρόνῳ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας ἀφειστήκει συν-
τριβεῖσα μεγάλαις μάχαις· ἐπαράμενοι δὲ τείχη
μεγάλα καὶ καρτερὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ
βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ἁπάσης ἐμπλή-
σαντες, ἀδεῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, μακρὰν
μὲν οὖσαν, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐρ-
5 γώδη καὶ χαλεπὴν γενομένην. εἰθισμένοι γὰρ οὐ 13
πολὺν χρόνον ἅμα ὥρᾳ θέρους ἔξω στρατεύειν,
οἴκοι δὲ διαχειμάζειν, τότε πρῶτον ἠναγκάσθησαν
ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων φρούρια κατασκευσάμενοι
καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τειχίσαντες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ
χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος συνάπτειν, ἤδη σχεδὸν ἔτους
ἑβδόμου τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντος. ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ μαλακῶς
πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν,
ἑτέρων αἱρεθέντων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον· ὧν ἦν καὶ
6 Κάμιλλος τότε χιλιαρχῶν τὸ δεύτερον. ἔπραξε
δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,
λαχὼν Φαλερίοις καὶ Καπηνάταις πολεμεῖν, οἳ
δι' ἀσχολίαν τότε πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καθυβρί-
σαντες καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον
ἐνοχλήσαντες ἐπιέσθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ
συνεστάλησαν εἰς τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ἀποβα-
λόντες.

III. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην
πάθος ἀκμάζοντι τῷ πολέμῳ συνενεχθὲν οὐδενὸς
ἧττον τῶν ἀπίστων πυθέσθαι θαυμάτων αἰτίας
κοινῆς ἀποοίᾳ καὶ λόγου φυσικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχὴν
ἐφόβησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα μετοπωρινή, καὶ τὸ

and sumptuousness in which her citizens lived she had waged many noble contests for glory and power in her wars with the Romans. At this time, however, she had been crushed in great battles, and had given up her former ambitious pretensions. But her people built their walls high and strong, filled the city full of armour, missiles, grain, and every possible provision, and confidently endured their siege, which, though long, was no less laborious and difficult for the besiegers. These had been accustomed to short campaigns abroad as the summer season opened, and to winters at home; but then for the first time they had been compelled by their tribunes to build forts and fortify their camp and spend both summer and winter in the enemy's country, the seventh year of the war being now nearly at an end. For this their rulers were held to blame, and finally deprived of their rule, because they were thought to conduct the siege without energy. Others were chosen to carry on the war, and one of these was Camillus, now tribune for the second time. But for the present he had nothing to do with the siege, since it fell to his lot to wage war with the Falerians and the Capenates, who, while the Romans had their hands full, had often harried their territory, and during all the Tuscan war had given them annoyance and trouble. These were overwhelmed by Camillus in battle and shut up in their fastnesses with great loss of life.

III. And now, when the war was at its climax, the calamity of the Alban lake added its terrors. It seemed a most incredible prodigy, without familiar cause or natural explanation. For the season was autumn, and the summer just ended had, to all

θέρος ἔληγεν οὔτ' ἔπομβρον οὔτε πνεύμασι νοτίοις
2 χαλεπὸν ἐπιδήλως γενόμενον· πολλὰς δὲ λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ νάματα παντοδαπὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐχούσης τὰ μὲν ἐξέλιπε κομιδῇ, τὰ δ' ἀντέσχε γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις, οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ πάντες ὥσπερ ἀεὶ κοῖλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ διὰ θέρους ἐρρύησαν. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀρχὴν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τελευτήν, ὄρεσιν εὐγείοις περιεχόμενον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίου, πλὴν εἴ τι θεῖον, αὐξόμενον ἐπιδήλως διωγκοῦτο καὶ προσίστατο ταῖς ὑπωρείαις καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω λόφων ὁμαλῶς ἐπέψαυεν, ἄνευ σάλου καὶ κλύδωνος ἐξανιστάμενον.
3 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν ποιμένων θαῦμα καὶ βοτήρων· ἐπεὶ δέ, τοῦ διείργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω χώρας οἷον ἰσθμοῦ τὴν λίμνην ὑπεκραγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ βάρους, μέγα ῥεῦμα κατέβαινε διὰ τῶν ἀρουμένων καὶ φυτευομένων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε Ῥωμαίοις ἔκπληξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦσι μηδενὸς μικροῦ σημεῖον εἶναι. πλεῖστος δ' αὐτοῦ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκοῦντι τοὺς Οὐηΐους, ὥστε κἀκείνοις ἔκπυστον γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πάθος.

IV. Οἷα δ' ἐν πολιορκίᾳ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐπιμιξίας τε πολλὰς ἐχούσῃ καὶ κοινολογίας πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγεγόνει τινὶ Ῥωμαίῳ συνήθεια καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἕνα τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄνθρωπον ἔμπειρόν τε λογίων παλαιῶν καί τι καὶ πλέον εἰδέναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ μαντικῆς δοκοῦντα. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὡς ἤκουσε τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς λίμνης, ὁρῶν ὑπερηδόμενόν τε καὶ καταγελῶντα τῆς πολιορκίας, οὐ ταῦτ'

observation, been neither rainy nor vexed by south winds. Of the lakes, rivers, and streams of all sizes with which Italy abounds, some had failed utterly, others barely managed to hold out, and all the rivers ran low, between high banks, as was always the case in summer. But the Alban lake, which had its source and outlet within itself, and was girt about with fertile mountains, for no reason, except it be that heaven willed it, was observed to increase and swell until it reached the skirts of the mountains and gradually touched their highest ridges. All this rise was without surge or billow. At first it was a prodigy for neighbouring shepherds and herdsmen. But when the volume and weight of water broke away the barrier which, like an isthmus, had kept the lake from the country lying below it, and a huge torrent poured down through the fields and vineyards and made its way to the sea, then not only were the Romans themselves dismayed, but all the inhabitants of Italy thought it a sign of no small evil to come. There was much talk about it in the army that was besieging Veii, so that even the besieged themselves heard of the calamity.

IV. As was to be expected in a long siege requiring many meetings for conference with the enemy, it fell out that a certain Roman became intimate and confidential with one of the citizens of Veii, a man versed in ancient oracles, and reputed wiser than the rest from his being a diviner. The Roman saw that this man, on hearing the story of the lake, was overjoyed and made mock of the siege. He therefore told

ἔφη μόνον ἐνηνοχέναι θαυμαστὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἕτερα τούτων ἀτοπώτερα σημεῖα Ῥωμαίοις γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἐθέλειν ἐκείνῳ κοινωσάμενος, εἴ τι δύναιτο, θέσθαι τῶν ἰδίων
2 ἄμεινον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς νοσοῦσιν. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προθύμως καὶ διδόντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς κοινολογίαν, ὡς ἀπορρήτων τινῶν ἀκροατὴν ἐσόμενον, κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὑπάγων αὐτόν, ὡς πορρωτέρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν, αἴρει τε μετέωρον εὐρωστότερος ὢν καί τινων ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου προσδραμόντων χειρωσάμενος καὶ κρατήσας παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
3 ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀνάγκης γεγονὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μαθὼν ἄρα τὸ πεπρωμένον ὡς ἄφυκτον εἴη, λόγια προὔφαινεν ἀπόρρητα περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἁλωσίμου πρότερον ἢ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην ἐκχυθεῖσαν καὶ φερομένην ὁδοὺς ἑτέρας ὥσαντες ὀπίσω καὶ περισπάσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι κωλύσουσι μίγνυσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ.

4 Ταῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ πυθομένῃ καὶ διαπορούσῃ 13
καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε πέμψαντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι, Κόσσος Λικίννιος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος Ποτῖτος καὶ Φάβιος Ἄμβουστος, πλῷ τε χρησάμενοι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τυχόντες ἧκον ἄλλας τε μαντείας κομίζοντες, αἳ πατρίων τινῶν περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λατίνας ἑορτὰς
5 ὀλιγωρίαν ἔφραζον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος ὕδωρ ἐκέλευον εἴργοντας ὡς ἄνυστόν ἐστι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνωθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον πόρον, ἢ τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένους ὀρύγμασι καὶ τάφροις παράγειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταναλίσκειν,

him this was not the only wonder which the passing days had brought, but that other and stranger signs than this had been given to the Romans, of which he was minded to tell him, in order that, if possible, he might better his own private case in the midst of the public distresses. The man gave eager hearing to all this, and consented to a conference, supposing that he was going to hear some deep secrets. But the Roman led him along little by little, conversing as he went, until they were some way beyond the city gate, when he seized him bodily, being a sturdier man than he, and with the help of comrades who came running up from the camp, mastered him completely and handed him over to the generals. Thus constrained, and perceiving that fate's decrees were not to be evaded, the man revealed secret oracles regarding his native city, to the effect that it could not be captured until the Alban lake, after leaving its bed and making new channels for itself, should be driven back by the enemy, deflected from its course, and prevented from mingling with the sea.

The Senate, on hearing this, was at great loss what to do, and thought it well to send an embassy to Delphi to consult the god. The envoys were men of great repute and influence, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, who made their voyage and came back with the responses of the god. One of these told them that certain ancestral rites connected with the so-called Latin festivals had been unduly neglected; another bade them by all means to keep the water of the Alban lake away from the sea and force it back into its ancient bed, or, if they could not effect this, by means of canals and trenches to divert it into the

ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔπραττον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν.

V. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσασα τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δικτάτορα Κάμιλλον ἀπέδειξεν· ἵππαρχον δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ προσελόμενος Κορνήλιον Σκηπίωνα, πρῶτον μὲν εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος εὐκλεὲς λαβόντι τὰς μεγάλας θέας ἄξειν καὶ νεὼν θεᾶς, ἣν μητέρα Ματοῦταν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθιερώσειν.

2 Ταύτην ἄν τις ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων ἱερῶν μάλιστα Λευκοθέαν νομίσειεν εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ θεράπαιναν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, εἶτ' ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέκνα πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐναγκαλίζονται καὶ δρῶσι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἃ ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν πάθεσι τῆς Ἰνοῦς προσέοικε.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ τούτους τε καὶ Καπηνάτας προσβοηθήσαντας αὐτοῖς
3 ἐνίκησεν. ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τραπόμενος τῶν Οὐηίων καὶ τὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἀγῶνα χαλεπὸν καὶ δύσεργον ὁρῶν ὑπονόμους ἔτεμνε, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρίων ἐνδιδόντων τοῖς ὀρύγμασι καὶ καταδεχομένων εἰς βάθος ἄγειν ἄδηλον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἔργα. διὸ καὶ προϊούσης ὁδῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξωθεν προσέβαλλεν, ἐκκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τοὺς πολεμίους,

plain and dissipate it. On receipt of these responses the priests performed the neglected sacrifices, and the people sallied out into the fields and diverted the course of the water.

V. In the tenth year of the war,[1] the Senate abolished the other magistracies and appointed Camillus dictator. After choosing Cornelius Scipio as his master of horse, in the first place he made solemn vows to the gods that, in case the war had a glorious ending, he would celebrate the great games in their honour, and dedicate a temple to a goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta.

From the sacred rites used in the worship of this goddess, she might be held to be almost identical with Leucothea. The women bring a serving-maid into the sanctuary and beat her with rods, then drive her forth again; they embrace their nephews and nieces in preference to their own children; and their conduct at the sacrifice resembles that of the nurses of Dionysus, or that of Ino under the afflictions put upon her by her husband's concubine.

After his vows, Camillus invaded the country of the Faliscans and conquered them in a great battle, together with the Capenates who came up to their aid. Then he turned to the siege of Veii, and seeing that direct assault upon the city was a grievous and difficult matter, he went to digging mines, since the region round the city favoured such works, and allowed their being carried to a great depth without the enemy's knowing about it. So then, when his hopes were well on their way to fulfilment, he himself assaulted the city from the outside, and thus called the enemy

[1] 396 B.C.

ἄλλοι δ' ἀδήλως ὑποπορευόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἔλαθον ἐντὸς γενόμενοι τῆς ἄκρας κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας[1] ἱερόν, ὃ μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μάλιστα τιμώμενον.

4 Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται τυχεῖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐφ' ἱεροῖς· τὸν δὲ μάντιν εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα κατιδόντα καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι νίκην ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τῷ κατακολουθήσαντι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκείνοις· ταύτης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις Ῥωμαίους ἐπακούσαντας ταχὺ διασπάσαι τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ψόφου τῶν ὅπλων ἀναδύντας, ἐκπλαγέντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φυγόντων, ἁρπάσαντας τὰ σπλάγχνα κομίσαι πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλ-
5 λον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐοικέναι δόξει μυθεύμασιν.

Ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ κράτος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων ἄπειρόν τινα πλοῦτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ πραττόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν ἑστὼς ἐδάκρυσεν, εἶτα μακαρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέσχε τὰς
6 χεῖρας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἶπε· "Ζεῦ μέγιστε καὶ θεοὶ χρηστῶν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων, αὐτοί που σύνιστε Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οὐ παρὰ δίκην, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀμυνόμενοι μετερχόμεθα δυσμενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρανόμων πόλιν. εἰ δ' ἄρα τις," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντίστροφος ὀφείλεται τῆς παρούσης νέμεσις εὐπραξίας, εὔχομαι ταύτην ὑπέρ τε πόλεως καὶ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλαχίστῳ κακῷ

[1] τῆς Ἥρας with C and S : Ἥρας,

away to man their walls; while others secretly made their way along the mines and reached unnoticed the interior of the citadel, where the temple of Juno stood, the largest temple in the city, and the one most held in honour.

There, it is said, at this very juncture, the commander of the Tuscans chanced to be sacrificing, and his seer, when he beheld the entrails of the victim, cried out with a loud voice and said that the god awarded victory to him who should fulfill that sacrifice. The Romans in the mines below, hearing this utterance, quickly tore away the pavement of the temple and issued forth with battle cries and clash of arms, whereat the enemy were terrified and fled away. The sacrificial entrails were then seized and carried to Camillus. But possibly this will seem like fable.

At any rate the city was taken by storm, and the Romans were pillaging and plundering its boundless wealth, when Camillus, seeing from the citadel what was going on, at first burst into tears as he stood, and then, on being congratulated by the bystanders, lifted up his hands to the gods and prayed, saying: "O greatest Jupiter, and ye gods who see and judge men's good and evil deeds, ye surely know that it is not unjustly, but of necessity and in self-defence that we Romans have visited its iniquity upon this city of hostile and lawless men. But if, as counterpoise to this our present success, some retribution is due to come upon us, spare, I beseech you, the city and the army of the Romans, and let it fall upon my own head, though with as little harm as may be."

7 τελευτῆσαι." ταῦτ' εἰπών, καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν, ἐσφάλη περιστρεφόμενος. διαταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος εἶπεν, ὡς γέγονεν αὐτῷ κατ' εὐχὴν σφάλμα μικρὸν ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ.

VI. Διαπορθήσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τὸ ἄγαλ- 13
μα τῆς Ἥρας μεταφέρειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὥσπερ εὔξατο. καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὁ μὲν ἔθυε καὶ προσεύχετο τῇ θεῷ δέχεσθαι τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι σύνοικον τοῖς λαχοῦσι τὴν Ῥώμην θεοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄγαλμά φασιν ὑποφθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται
2 καὶ συγκαταινεῖ. Λιούϊος δέ φησιν εὔχεσθαι μὲν τὸν Κάμιλλον ἁπτόμενον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δέ τινας τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαταινεῖ καὶ συνακολουθεῖ προθύμως.

Οἱ δ' ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ βοηθοῦντες μεγίστην μὲν ἔχουσι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως προελθεῖν δίχα θεοῦ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπιφανείαις
3 ἑκάστοτε συμπαρόντος ἀμήχανον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάγουσιν ὁμοειδῆ τινα, τοῦτο μὲν ἱδρῶτας ἀγαλμάτων πολλάκις ἐκχυθέντας, τοῦτο δὲ στεναγμοὺς ἀκουσθέντας ἀποστροφάς τε δεικνύντες καὶ καταμύσεις ξοάνων, ἃς ἱστορήκασιν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πρότερον. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκηκοότες ἀνθρώπων λέγειν ἔχομεν ἄξια θαύματος, ὧν

With these words, as the Romans' custom is after prayer and adoration, he wheeled himself about to the right, but stumbled and fell as he turned. The bystanders were confounded, but he picked himself up again from his fall and said: "My prayer is granted! a slight fall is my atonement for the greatest good fortune."

VI. After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image, they say, spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing. But Livy[1] says that Camillus did indeed lay his hand upon the goddess and pray and beseech her, but that it was certain of the bystanders who gave answer that she was ready and willing and eager to go along with him.

Those who insist upon and defend the marvel have a most powerful advocate for their contention in the fortune of the city, which, from its small and despised beginning, could never have come to such a pinnacle of glory and power had God not dwelt with her and made many great manifestations of himself from time to time. Moreover, they adduce other occurrences of a kindred sort, such as statues often dripping with sweat, images uttering audible groans, turning away their faces, and closing their eyes, as not a few historians in the past have written. And we ourselves might make mention of many astonishing things which we

[1] v. 22.

4 οὐκ ἄν τις εἰκῇ καταφρονήσειεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν σφόδρα καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀπιστεῖν ἐπισφαλές ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν οὐδὲ κρατοῦσαν αὑτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκφερομένην ὅπου μὲν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τῦφον, ὅπου δ' εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιφρόνησιν· ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄριστον.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἴτε μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου, πόλιν ἀντίπαλον τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιορκίας καθῃρηκώς, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζόντων αὐτὸν εἰς ὄγκον ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ φρόνημα νομίμου καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαχθέστερον, τά τε ἄλλα σοβαρῶς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ τέθριππον ὑποζευξάμενος λευκόπωλον ἐπέβη καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐδενὸς τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἡγεμόνος πρότερον οὐδ' ὕστερον. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιπε-
2 φημισμένον. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτου διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας οὐκ εἰθισμένους ἐντρυφᾶσθαι, καὶ δευτέραν ἔλαβεν αἰτίαν ἐνιστάμενος νόμῳ διοικίζοντι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσηγοῦντο γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἴσα μέρη δύο νεμηθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτόθι κατοικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κλήρῳ λαχόντας εἰς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μεταστῆναι πόλιν, ὡς εὐπορωτέρων ἐσομένων καὶ δυσὶ μεγάλοις καὶ καλοῖς ἄστεσι τήν τε χώραν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
3 εὐδαιμονίαν φυλαξόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἤδη πολὺς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀχρήματος ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο,

have heard from men of our own time,—things not lightly to be despised. But in such matters eager credulity and excessive incredulity are alike dangerous, because of the weakness of our human nature, which sets no limits and has no mastery over itself, but is carried away now into vain superstition, and now into contemptuous neglect of the gods. Caution is best, and to go to no extremes.

VII. Whether it was due to the magnitude of his exploit in taking a city which could vie with Rome and endure a siege of ten years, or to the congratulations showered upon him, Camillus was lifted up to vanity, cherished thoughts far from becoming to a civil magistrate subject to the law, and celebrated a triumph with great pomp: he actually had four white horses harnessed to a chariot on which he mounted and drove through Rome, a thing which no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods. In this way he incurred the enmity of the citizens, who were not accustomed to wanton extravagance. They had also a second grievance against him in that he opposed himself to a law dividing the city. The tribunes introduced a measure dividing the people and the Senate into two parts, one to remain and dwell there, and the one on which the lot fell to remove into the city they had captured, on the ground that they would thus be more commodiously bestowed, and with two large and fair cities could better protect their territory as well as their prosperity in general. Accordingly the people, which was now become numerous and poor, welcomed the measure

καὶ συνεχὴς ἦν τοῖς περὶ τὸ βῆμα θορύβοις αἰτῶν τὴν ψῆφον· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι πολιτῶν οὐ διαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναίρεσιν ἡγούμενοι τῆς Ῥώμης πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον
4 κατέφυγον. κἀκεῖνος ὀρρωδῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα προφάσεις ἐνέβαλλε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀσχολίας, δι' ὧν ἀεὶ τὸν νόμον ἐξέκρουεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα λυπηρός.

Ἡ δε φανερωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἀπεχθειῶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν λαφύρων ὑπῆρξεν, οὐκ ἄλογον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ δικαίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν πολλῶν λαβόντων.
5 εὔξατο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐηΐους, ὡς ἔοικε, βαδίζων, εἰ τὴν πόλιν ἕλοι, τῷ θεῷ τούτων τὴν δεκάτην καθιερώσειν. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διαρπασθείσης, εἴτ' ὀκνήσας ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς πολίταις, εἴτε λήθη τις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τῆς εὐχῆς, περιεῖδεν ὠφεληθέντας. ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἤδη πεπαυμένος ἀνήνεγκε περὶ τούτων εἰς[1] τὴν σύγκλητον, οἵ τε μάντεις ἤγγελλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς 13
προφαίνεσθαι θεῶν μῆνιν ἱλασμοῦ καὶ χαριστηρίων δεομένην.

VIII. Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν μὲν ὠφέλειαν (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν) ἀνάδαστον μὴ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοὺς σὺν ὅρκῳ τὴν δεκάτην παραφέρειν εἰς μέσον, ἐγίνετο πολλὰ

[1] εἰς Bekker and Sintenis[1], with most MSS.: πρὸς.

with delight, and was for ever thronging tumultuously about the rostra with demands that it be put to vote. But the Senate and the most influential of the other citizens considered that the measure proposed by the tribunes meant not division but destruction for Rome, and in their aversion to it went to Camillus for aid and succour. He, dreading the struggle, always contrived to keep the people busy with other matters, and so staved off the passage of the bill. For this reason, then, they were vexed with him.

But the strongest and most apparent reason why the multitude hated him was based on the matter of the tenth of the spoil of Veii, and herein they had a plausible, though not a very just ground of complaint. He had vowed, as it seems, on setting out against Veii, that if he should take the city, he would consecrate the tenth of its booty to the Delphian god. But after the city had been taken and sacked, he allowed his soldiers full enjoyment of their plunder, either because he shrank from annoying them, or because, in the multitude of his activities, he as good as forgot his vow. At a later time, when he had laid down his command, he referred the matter to the Senate, and the seers announced tokens in their sacrifices that the gods were angry, and must be propitiated with due offerings.

VIII. The Senate voted, not that the booty should be redistributed, for that would have been a difficult matter, but that those who had got it should, in person and under oath, bring the tenth thereof to the public treasury. This subjected the soldiers to

λυπηρὰ καὶ βίαια περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀνθρώπους πένητας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηκότας, ἀναγκαζομένους ὧν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ κατεκέχρηντο μέρος
2 εἰσφέρειν τοσοῦτον. θορυβουμένῳ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῷ Καμίλλῳ καὶ προφάσεως ἀποροῦντι βελτίονος εἰς τὸν ἀτοπώτατον τῶν λόγων συνέβαινε καταφεύγειν, ὁμολογοῦντι ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς εὐχῆς. οἱ δ' ἐχαλέπαινον, εἰ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δεκατεύσειν εὐξάμενος τότε νῦν δεκατεύει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντων ὅσον ἔδει μέρος εἰσενεγκόντων ἔδοξε κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν κατασκευάσαντας εἰς
3 Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι. χρυσίου δ' ἦν σπάνις ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὅθεν ἂν πορισθείη σκοπούντων, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ καθ' αὑτὰς βουλευσάμεναι τὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν ἑκάστη περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, σταθμῷ χρυσίου γενόμενον ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. καὶ ταύταις μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀποδιδοῦσα τιμὴν πρέπουσαν ἐψηφίσατο μετὰ θάνατον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λέγεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον ἔπαινον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰθισμένον πρότερον ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι γυ-
4 ναῖκα δημοσίᾳ τελευτήσασαν· ἑλόμενοι δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων θεωροὺς καὶ ναῦν μακρὰν εὐανδροῦντι πληρώματι καὶ κόσμῳ παν ηγυρικῷ κατασκευάσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν.

Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ χειμὼν καὶ γαλήνη θαλάσσης ἀργαλέον, ὡς ἐκείνοις συνέτυχε τότε παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθόντας ἀπολέσθαι διαφυγεῖν αὖθις ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπέπλευσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Λιπαρέων τριήρεις περὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους τοῦ

many vexations and constraints. They were poor men, who had toiled hard, and yet were now forced to contribute a large share of what they had gained, yes, and spent already. Beset by their tumultuous complaints, and at loss for a better excuse, Camillus had recourse to the absurdest of all explanations, and admitted that he had forgotten his vow. The soldiers were filled with indignation at the thought that it was the goods of the enemy of which he had once vowed a tithe, but the goods of his fellow citizens from which he was now paying the tithe. However, all of them brought in the necessary portion, and it was decided to make a bowl of massive gold and send it to Delphi. Now there was a scarcity of gold in the city, and the magistrates knew not whence it could be had. So the women, of their own accord, determined to give the gold ornaments which they wore upon their persons for the offering, and these amounted to eight talents weight. The women were fittingly rewarded by the Senate, which voted that thereafter, when women died, a suitable eulogy should be spoken over them, as over men. For it was not customary before that time, when a woman died, that a public encomium should be pronounced. Then they chose three of the noblest citizens as envoys, manned with its full complement of their best sailors a ship of war decked out in festal array, and sent them on their way.

Calm at sea has its perils as well as storm, it would seem, at least so it proved in this case. Envoys and crew came within an ace of destruction, and found escape from their peril when they least expected it. Off the Aeolian isles, as the wind died down, some Liparian galleys put out against them, taking them

5 πνεύματος ἐκλιπόντος ὡς λῃσταῖς. δεομένων δὲ καὶ προϊσχομένων χεῖρας ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο, τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἀναψάμενοι καὶ καταγαγόντες ἀπεκήρυττον, ἅμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα, πειρατικὰ κρίναντες εἶναι. μόλις δ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει Τιμησιθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεισθέντες μεθῆκαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσκαθελκύσας ἴδια πλοῖα παρέπεμψε καὶ συγκαθιέρωσε τὸ ἀνάθημα· δι' ὃ καὶ τιμὰς ἔσχεν, ἃς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὖθις ἐπεγειρόντων τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμον, ὁ πρὸς Φαλίσκους πόλεμος ἐν καιρῷ παραφανεὶς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαιρεσιάσαι κατὰ γνώμην καὶ Κάμιλλον ἀποδεῖξαι μεθ' ἑτέρων πέντε χιλίαρχον, ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνος δεομένων ἀξίωμα
2 καὶ δόξαν μετ' ἐμπειρίας ἔχοντος. ψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πόλιν ἐρυμνὴν κατεσκευασμένην πᾶσιν εἰς πόλεμον καλῶς Φαλερίους ἐπολιόρκει, τὸ μὲν ἑλεῖν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ χρόνου τοῦ τυχόντος ἡγούμενος, ἄλλως δὲ τρίβειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ περισπᾶν βουλόμενος, ὡς μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἴκοι καθήμενοι δημαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν. ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἀεὶ φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ χρώμενοι διετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἰατροί, τὰ ταρακτικὰ πάθη τῆς πολιτείας ἔξω τρέποντες.

X. Οὕτως δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας κατεφρόνουν οἱ

for pirates. The enemy had sufficient regard to their prayers and supplications not to run their vessel down, but they took it in tow, brought it to land, and proclaimed their goods and persons for sale, adjudging them piratical. At last, and with much ado, through the brave intercession of a single man, Timesitheus, their general, the Liparians were persuaded to let the captives go. This man then launched boats of his own, convoyed the suppliants on their way, and assisted them in the dedication of their offering. For this he received suitable honours at Rome.

IX. Once more the tribunes of the people urged the passage of the law for the division of the city, but the war with the Faliscans came on opportunely and gave the leading men occasion to hold such elective assemblies as they wished, and to appoint Camillus military tribune, with five others. The emergency was thought to demand a leader with the dignity and reputation which experience alone could give. After the people had ratified the election, Camillus, at the head of his army, invaded the territory of the Faliscans and laid siege to Falerii, a strong city, and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It was not that he thought its capture would demand slight effort or short time, but he wished to turn the thoughts of the citizens to other matters and keep them busy therein, that they might not be able to stay at home and become the prey of seditious leaders. This was a fitting and sovereign remedy which the Romans used, like good physicians, thereby expelling from the body politic its troublesome distempers.

X. The Falerians, relying on the great strength of

Φαλέριοι τῷ πανταχόθεν ἐξωχυρῶσθαι πιστεύοντες, ὥστε πλὴν τῶν τὰ τείχη φυλαττόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ἱματίοις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν εἴς τε τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτᾶν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τείχη περιπατήσοντας καὶ γυμνασομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καταβιβάζεσθαι. κοινῷ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο τῷ διδα-
σκάλῳ, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, οἱ Φαλέριοι, βουλό- 13
μενοι συντρέφεσθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι μετ'
2 ἀλλήλων εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς παῖδας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς Φαλερίοις διὰ τῶν παίδων ἐξῆγεν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγγὺς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτ' ἀπῆγεν αὖθις εἴσω γυμνασαμένους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων εἴθισε θαρρεῖν ὡς πολλῆς οὔσης ἀδείας, καὶ τέλος ἔχων ἅπαντας εἰς τοὺς προφύλακας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνέβαλε καὶ παρέδωκεν,
3 ἄγειν κελεύσας πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον. ἀχθεὶς δὲ καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσον ἔλεγε παιδευτὴς μὲν εἶναι καὶ διδάσκαλος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων ἑλόμενος τῶν δικαίων, ἥκειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς παισὶ κομίζων. δεινὸν οὖν ἀκούσαντι τὸ ἔργον ἐφάνη Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπών, ὡς χαλεπὸν μέν ἐστι πόλεμος καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἀδικίας καὶ βιαίων περαινόμενος
4 ἔργων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πολέμων ὅμως τινὲς νόμοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐχ οὕτω διωκτέον, ὥστε μὴ φεύγειν τὰς ἐκ κακῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἔργων χάριτας (ἀρετῇ γὰρ οἰκείᾳ τὸν μέγαν στρατηγόν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίᾳ θαρροῦντα κακίᾳ χρῆναι στρατεύειν), προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου καταρρηγνύναι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ

their city at all points, made so light of the siege that, with the exception of the defenders of the walls, the rest went up and down the city in their garb of peace. The boys went to school as usual, and were brought by their teacher along the walls outside to walk about and get their exercise. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, employed one teacher in common, wishing their boys, from the very start, to herd with one another and grow up together. This teacher, then, wishing to betray Falerii by means of its boys, led them out every day beyond the city walls, at first only a little way, and then brought them back inside when they had taken their exercise. Presently he led them, little by little, farther and farther out, accustomed them to feel confident that there was no danger at all, and finally pushed in among the Roman outposts with his whole company, handed them over to the enemy, and demanded to be led to Camillus. So led, and in that presence, he said he was a boys' school-teacher, but chose rather to win the general's favour than to fulfil the duties of his office, and so had come bringing to him the city in the persons of its boys. It seemed to Camillus, on hearing him, that the man had done a monstrous deed, and turning to the bystanders he said: "War is indeed a grievous thing, and is waged with much injustice and violence; but even war has certain laws which good and brave men will respect, and we must not so hotly pursue victory as not to flee the favours of base and impious doers. The great general will wage war relying on his own native valour, not on the baseness of other men." Then he ordered his attendants to tear the man's clothing from him, tie

τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω περιάγειν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ διαδοῦναι ῥάβδους καὶ μάστιγας, ὅπως κολάζοντες τὸν προδότην ἐλαύνωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

5 Ἄρτι δὲ τῶν Φαλερίων ᾐσθημένων τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οἷον εἰκός, ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ θρήνου κατέχοντος, ἀνδρῶν δ' ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ φερομένων, προσῆγον οἱ παῖδες τὸν διδάσκαλον γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον προπηλακίζοντες, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ θεὸν ἀνακα-
6 λοῦντες, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς γονεῦσι τῶν παίδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι θαῦμά τε καὶ πόθον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς τοῦ Καμίλλου δικαιοσύνης. καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντες, οὓς ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
7 Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καταστάντες εἶπον, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης τὴν δικαιοσύνην προτιμήσαντες ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡτταν ἀγαπῆσαι πρὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δυνάμει λείπεσθαι δοκοῦντας, ὅσον ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμολογοῦντας. ἀποδούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς πάλιν ἐκείνῳ τὸ κρῖναι καὶ διαιτῆσαι ταῦτα, χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Φαλερίων καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας Φαλίσκους θέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν.

XI. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαρπάσειν προσδοκήσαντες τοὺς Φαλερίους, ὡς ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ῥώμην κεναῖς χερσί, κατηγόρουν τοῦ Καμίλλου πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ὡς μισοδήμου καὶ φθονήσαντος ὠφεληθῆναι τοῖς πένησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμον οἱ δήμαρχοι προθέντες

his arms behind his back, and put rods and scourges in the hands of the boys, that they might chastise the traitor and drive him back into the city.

The Falerians had just become aware of the teacher's treachery, and the whole city, as was natural, was filled with lamentation over a calamity so great. Men and women alike rushed distractedly to the walls and gates, when lo! there came the boys, bringing their teacher back stripped, bound, and maltreated, while they called Camillus their saviour, their father, and their god. On this wise not only the parents of the boys, but the rest of the citizens as well, when they beheld the spectacle, were seized with admiration and longing for the righteousness of Camillus. In haste they held an assembly and sent envoys to him, entrusting him with their lives and fortunes. These envoys Camillus sent to Rome. Standing in the Senate, they declared that the Romans, by esteeming righteousness above victory, had taught them to love defeat above freedom; not so much because they thought themselves inferior in strength, as because they confessed themselves vanquished in virtue. On the Senate's remanding to Camillus the decision and disposition of the matter, he took a sum of money from the Falerians, established friendship with all the Faliscans, and withdrew.

XI. But the soldiers thought to have had the sacking of Falerii, and when they came back to Rome empty-handed, they denounced Camillus to the rest of the citizens as a hater of the common people, and as begrudging to the poor the enjoyment of their rightful booty. And when the tribunes once more put forward the law for the division of the city

αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον, ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχθείας οὐδὲ παρρησίας φεισάμενος ἐφάνη μάλιστα πάντων ἐκβιαζόμενος τοὺς πολλούς, τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄκοντες
2 ἀπεψηφίσαντο, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ δυστυχήσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα (τῶν γὰρ υἱῶν ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἕτερον νοσήσαντα) μηδὲν οἴκτῳ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑφέσθαι. καίτοι τὸ πάθος οὐ μετρίως ἤνεγκεν ἀνὴρ ἥμερος φύσει καὶ χρηστός, ἀλλὰ τῆς δίκης προγεγραμμένης αὐτῷ διὰ πένθος οἰκούρει καθειργμένος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν.

XII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν κατήγορος ἦν Λεύκιος Ἀπουλήϊος, ἔγκλημα δὲ κλοπῆς περὶ τὰ Τυρρηνικὰ χρήματα. καὶ δῆτα καὶ θύραι τινὲς ἐλέγοντο χαλκαῖ παρ' αὐτῷ φανῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξηρέθιστο καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως κατ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ψήφῳ χρησόμενος.
2 οὕτως οὖν συναγαγὼν τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας, ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιϊδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀδίκως ἐπ' αἰτίαις πονηραῖς ὀφλόντα καὶ καταγέλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ φίλοι βουλευσάμενοι καὶ διαλεχθέντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀπεκρίναντο, πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ἔγνω μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς
3 ὀργήν. ἀσπασάμενος οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προῄει σιωπῇ μέχρι τῆς πύλης· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐπέστη, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς ὀπίσω

and summoned the people to vote upon it, then Camillus, shunning no hatred nor any boldness of utterance, was manifestly the chief one in forcing the multitude away from its desires. Therefore, they did indeed reject the law, much against their will, but they were wroth with Camillus, so that even when he met with domestic affliction and lost one of his two sons by sickness, their wrath was in no wise softened by pity. And yet he set no bounds to his sorrow, being by nature a gentle and kindly man, but even after the indictment against him had been published, he suffered his grief to keep him at home, in close seclusion with the women of his household.

XII. Well, then, his accuser was Lucius Apuleius, and the charge was theft of Tuscan goods. It was said, forsooth, that certain bronze doors belonging to the booty had been seen at his house. But the people were exasperated, and would plainly lay hold of any pretext whatever for condemning him. So then he assembled his friends and comrades in arms, who were many in number, and begged them not to suffer him to be convicted on base charges and to be made a laughing-stock by his foes. When his friends had laid their heads together and discussed the case, they answered that, as regarded his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him; but if he were punished with a fine, they would help him pay it. This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile. Accordingly, after he had kissed his wife and son good-bye, he went from his house in silence as far as the gate of the city. There he stopped, turned himself about, and stretching his hands out towards

καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ δικαίως, ἀλλ' ὕβρει δήμου καὶ φθόνῳ προπηλακιζόμενος ἐκπίπτει, ταχὺ Ῥωμαίους μετανοῆσαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεροὺς γενέσθαι δεομένους αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦντας Κάμιλλον.

XIII. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀρὰς θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ μεταστὰς ὤφλε τὴν δίκην ἐρήμην, τίμημα μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀσσαρίων ἔχουσαν.

Ὁ γίνεται πρὸς ἀργυρίου λόγον χίλιαι δραχμαὶ καὶ πεντακόσιαι· ἀσσάριον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ τὸ δεκάχαλκον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον.

2 Οὐδεὶς δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὃς οὐ νομίζει τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Καμίλλου ταχὺ τὴν Δίκην ὑπολαβεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἡδεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἀνιαράν, ὀνομαστὴν δὲ καὶ περιβόητον· τοσαύτη περιῆλθε τὴν Ῥώμην νέμεσις, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄγων φθόρον καὶ κίνδυνον ἅμα μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐφάνη καιρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε τῆς τύχης οὕτω συνελθούσης, εἴτε καὶ θεῶν τινος ἔργον ἐστὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ἀρετῆς ἀχαριστουμένης.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε σημεῖον γεγονέναι κακοῦ μεγάλου προσιόντος ἡ Ἰουλίου τοῦ τιμητοῦ τελευτή· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι σέβονται καὶ νομίζουσιν ἱερὰν τὴν τῶν τιμητῶν ἀρχήν. δεύτερον δὲ πρὸ τῆς Καμίλλου φυγῆς ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιφανὴς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιεικὴς δὲ καὶ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Μάρκος Καιδίκιος, ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους πρᾶγμα φροντίδος ἄξιον.

the Capitol, prayed the gods that, if with no justice, but through the wantonness of the people and the abuse of the envious he was now being driven from his country, the Romans might speedily repent, and show to all men that they needed and longed for Camillus.

XIII. After he had thus, like Achilles,[1] invoked curses upon his fellow citizens, he removed from out the city. His case went by default, and he was fined fifteen thousand asses.

This sum, reduced to our money, is fifteen hundred drachmas. For the as was the current copper coin, and the silver coin worth ten of these pieces was for that reason called the denarius, which is equivalent to the drachma.

Now there is no Roman who does not believe that justice followed hard upon the imprecations of Camillus, and that he received a requital for his wrongs which was not pleasing to him, but painful; certainly it was notable and famous. For a great retribution encompassed Rome, and a season of dire destruction and peril not unmixed with disgrace assailed the city, whether fortune so brought things to pass, or whether it is the mission of some god not to neglect virtue that goes unrequited.

XIV. In the first place, then, it seemed to be a sign of great evil impending when Julius the censor died. For the Romans specially revere and hold sacred the office of censor. In the second place, before Camillus went into exile, a man who was not conspicuous, to be sure, but who was esteemed honest and kindly, Marcus Caedicius, informed the military tribunes of a matter well worth their atten-

[1] *Iliad* i. 407–412.

2 ἔφη γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρῳχημένῃ νυκτὶ καθ' ὁδὸν βαδίζων, ἣν Καινὴν ὀνομάζουσι, κληθεὶς ὑπό τινος φθεγξαμένου μεταστραφῆναι, καὶ θεάσασθαι μὲν οὐδένα, φωνῆς δὲ μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀκοῦσαι τάδε λεγούσης· "Ἄγε, Μάρκε Καιδίκιε, λέγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἕωθεν ἐλθὼν ὀλίγου χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ χιλίαρχοι γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβη τὰ περὶ Κάμιλλον.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῦ Κελτικοῦ γένους ὄντες ὑπὸ πλήθους λέγονται τὴν αὑτῶν ἀπολιπόντες, οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτάρκη τρέφειν ἅπαντας, ἐπὶ γῆς ζήτησιν ἑτέρας ὁρμῆσαι· μυριάδες δὲ πολλαὶ γενόμενοι νέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχίμων, ἔτι δὲ πλείους παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον Ὠκεανὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη ῥυῆναι καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Εὐρώπης κατα-
2 σχεῖν, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ Πυρρήνης ὄρους καὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων ἱδρυθέντες ἐγγὺς Σενώνων καὶ Κελτορίων κατοικεῖν χρόνον πολύν· ὀψὲ δ' οἴνου γευσάμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας διακομισθέντος οὕτως ἄρα θαυμάσαι τὸ πόμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔκφρονες γενέσθαι πάντες, ὥστε ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ γενεὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἐκείνην τὴν γῆν, ἣ τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἄκαρπον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνήμερον.

3 Ὁ δ' εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν οἶνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ παροξύνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτος Ἄρρων λέγεται γενέσθαι Τυρρηνός, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ φύσει μὲν οὐ πονηρός, συμφορᾷ δὲ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος. ἦν ἐπίτροπος παιδὸς ὀρφανοῦ

tion. He said that during the night just passed, as he was going along the so-called New Street, he was hailed by someone in clear tones, and turned, and saw no man, but heard a voice louder than man's saying: "Hark thou! Marcus Caedicius, early in the morning go and tell the magistrates that within a little time they must expect the Gauls." At this story the tribunes mocked and jested. And a little while after, Camillus suffered his disgrace.

XV. The Gauls were of the Celtic stock, and their numbers were such, as it is said, that they abandoned their own country, which was not able to sustain them all, and set out in quest of another. They were many myriads of young warriors, and they took along with them a still greater number of women and children. Some of them crossed the Rhipaean mountains, streamed off towards the northern ocean, and occupied the remotest parts of Europe; others settled between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians, and dwelt there a long time. But at last they got a taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought to them from Italy. They admired the drink so much, and were all so beside themselves with the novel pleasure which it gave, that they seized their arms, took along their families, and made off to the Alps, in quest of the land which produced such fruit, considering the rest of the world barren and wild.

The man who introduced wine to them, and was first and foremost in sharpening their appetite for Italy, is said to have been Arron, a Tuscan. He was a man of prominence, and by nature not prone to evil, but had met with the following misfortune. He was guardian of an orphan boy who was heir to

πλούτῳ τε πρώτου τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ θαυμαζο-
μένου κατ' εἶδος, ὄνομα Λουκούμωνος. οὗτος ἐκ 1
νέου παρὰ τῷ Ἄρρωνι δίαιταν εἶχε, καὶ μειράκιον
ὢν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ προσεποιεῖτο
4 χαίρειν συνὼν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανε
διεφθαρκὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διεφθαρμένος
ὑπ' ἐκείνης· ἤδη δὲ πόρρω τοῦ πάθους ἀμφοτέρων
γεγονότων καὶ μήτ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτε
κρύπτειν ἔτι δυναμένων, ὁ μὲν νεανίσκος ἐπεχείρει
φανερῶς ἀποσπάσας ἔχειν τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δ'
ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθὼν καὶ κρατούμενος πλήθει
φίλων καὶ χρημάτων δαπάναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκού-
μωνος ἐξέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ τῶν
Γαλατῶν ἧκεν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθηγήσατο τῆς εἰς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατείας.

XVI. Οἱ δ' ἐμβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἐκράτουν τῆς
χώρας ὅσην τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατεῖχον,
ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλπεων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας καθήκουσαν τὰς
θαλάσσας, ὡς καὶ τοὔνομα μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ.
τὴν μὲν γὰρ βόρειον θάλατταν Ἀδρίαν καλοῦσιν
ἀπὸ Τυρρηνικῆς πόλεως Ἀδρίας, τὴν δὲ πρὸς
νότον κεκλιμένην ἄντικρυς Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος.
2 πᾶσα δ' ἐστὶ δενδρόφυτος αὕτη καὶ θρέμμασιν
εὔβοτος καὶ κατάρρυτος ποταμοῖς. καὶ πόλεις
εἶχεν ὀκτωκαίδεκα καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ κατε-
σκευασμένας πρός τε χρηματισμὸν ἐργατικῶς καὶ
πρὸς δίαιταν πανηγυρικῶς, ἃς οἱ Γαλάται τοὺς
Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὶ κατέσχον. ἀλλὰ
ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθη συχνῷ τινι χρόνῳ πρότερον.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τότε πρὸς πόλιν Τυρρη-
νίδα Κλούσιον στρατεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν. οἱ
δὲ Κλουσῖνοι καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

the greatest wealth in the city, and of amazing beauty, Lucumo by name. This Lucumo from his youth up had lived with Arron, and when he came to man's estate, did not leave his house, but pretended to take delight in his society. He had, however, corrupted Arron's wife, and been corrupted by her, and for a long time kept the thing a secret. But at last the passions of both culprits increased upon them so that they could neither put away their desires nor longer hide them, wherefore the young man made open attempt to remove the woman and have her to wife. Her husband brought the case to trial, but was defeated by Lucumo, owing to the multitude of his friends and his lavish outlays of money, and forsook the city. Learning about the Gauls, he betook himself to them, and led them on their expedition into Italy.

XVI. The Gauls burst in and straightway mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old, namely, that stretching from the Alps down to both seas, the names of which bear witness to the story. For the northern sea is called Adria, from the Tuscan city of Adria; the southern is called outright the Tuscan Sea. This whole country is studded with trees, has excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and an abundance of rivers. It had also eighteen cities, large and fair, well equipped for profitable commerce and for sumptuous living. These the Gauls took away from the Tuscans and occupied themselves. But this happened long before the time of which I speak.

XVII. At this time the Gauls had marched against the Tuscan city of Clusium and were laying siege to it. The Clusians applied for assistance to the

ἠτήσαντο πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους τρεῖς ἄνδρες εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τιμὰς
2 μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει. τούτους ἐδέξαντο μὲν οἱ Γαλάται φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὰ τείχη μάχης εἰς λόγους συνῆλθον. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τι παθόντες ὑπὸ Κλουσίνων ἥκοιεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν Βρέννος, "Ἀδικοῦσιν ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "Κλουσῖνοι γῆν καὶ χώραν ὀλίγην μὲν γεωργεῖν δυνάμενοι, πολλὴν δὲ κατέχειν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντες ἡμῖν
3 ξένοις οὖσι καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι. ταῦτα δ' ἄρα καὶ ὑμᾶς ἠδίκουν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Φιδηνᾶται καὶ Ἀρδεᾶται, νῦν δὲ Οὐήϊοι καὶ Καπηνᾶται καὶ πολλοὶ Φαλίσκων καὶ Οὐολούσκων· ἐφ' οὓς ὑμεῖς στρατεύοντες, ἐὰν μὴ μεταδιδῶσιν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνδραποδίζεσθε καὶ λεηλατεῖτε καὶ κατασκάπτετε τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς γε δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἄδικον
4 ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκολουθοῦντες, ὃς τῷ κρείττονι τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων δίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὰ θηρία. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἐκ φύσεως ἔνεστι τὸ ζητεῖν πλέον ἔχειν τὰ κρείττονα τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων. Κλουσίνους δὲ παύσασθε πολιορκουμένους οἰκτείροντες, ὡς μὴ καὶ Γαλάτας διδάξητε χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλοικτίρμονας γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀδικουμένοις."

5 Ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Βρέννον ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντα, καὶ παρελ-

Romans, and begged them to send ambassadors in their behalf with a letter to the Barbarians. So there were sent three men of the Fabian gens who were of great repute and honour in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, because of the name of Rome, ceased their attacks upon the city walls, and held conference with them. When they were asked what wrong they had suffered at the hands of the Clusians that they had come up against their city, Brennus, the king of the Gauls, burst into a laugh and said: "The Clusians wrong us in that, being able to till only a small parcel of earth, they yet are bent on holding a large one, and will not share it with us, who are strangers, many in number and poor. This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientines, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground; not that in so doing ye are in any wise cruel or unjust, nay, ye are but obeying that most ancient of all laws which gives to the stronger the goods of his weaker neighbours, the world over, beginning with God himself and ending with the beasts that perish. For these too are so endowed by nature that the stronger seeks to have more than the weaker. Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans."

From this speech the Roman envoys saw that there was no coming to terms with Brennus, and so they

θόντες εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἐθάρρυνον καὶ παρώρμων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις μετ' αὐτῶν, εἴτε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀλκὴν καταμαθεῖν εἴτε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξασθαι θέλοντες. ἐκδρομῆς δὲ τῶν Κλουσίνων καὶ μάχης παρὰ τὰ τείχη γενομένης εἷς τῶν Φαβίων, Κόϊντος Ἄμβουστος, ἵππον ἔχων ἐλήλασεν ἀντίος ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ καλῷ Γαλάτῃ πολὺ προϊππεύοντι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγνοηθεὶς ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τὴν σύνοδον ὀξεῖαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν
6 ὄψιν ἀποκρύπτειν. ὡς δ' ἐπικρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γνωρίσας ὁ Βρέννος αὐτὸν ἐπεμαρτύρατο θεούς, ὡς παρὰ 13
τὰ κοινὰ καὶ νενομισμένα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅσια καὶ δίκαια πρεσβευτοῦ μὲν ἥκοντος, πολέμια δὲ εἰργασμένου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα Κλουσίνους μὲν εἴα χαίρειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ δόξαι τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀσμένοις γεγονέναι καὶ δεομένοις προφάσεως, ἔπεμψεν ἐξαιτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προῆγεν ἅμα σχολαίως.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ τῆς βουλῆς συναχθείσης ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγόρουν, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι Φητιαλεῖς ἐνῆγον ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ κελεύοντες τὸ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄγος τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς ἕνα τὸν αἴτιον τρέψασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφοσιώσασθαι.

Τούτους τοὺς Φητιαλεῖς Πομπίλιος Νομᾶς, βασιλέων ἡμερώτατος γενόμενος καὶ δικαιότατος, κατέστησε φύλακας μὲν εἰρήνης, ἐπιγνώμονας δὲ καὶ βεβαιωτὰς αἰτιῶν, αἳ σὺν δίκῃ πόλεμον συνάπτουσι.

slipped into Clusium, and emboldened and incited its citizens to sally out against the Barbarians with them, either because they wished to discover the prowess of those warriors or to display their own. The Clusians made a sally, and in the fight which raged along the walls one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambustus, drove his horse straight at a stately and handsome Gaul who was riding far out in front of the rest. At first he was not recognized, because the conflict came swiftly to pass and his dazzling armour hid his face. But when he had conquered and unhorsed his foe and was stripping his arms from him, then Brennus recognized him, and called upon the gods to witness how, contrary to the general practice of all mankind, which was deemed just and holy, he had come as an ambassador, but had wrought as an enemy. Then, putting a stop to the battle, he straightway let the Clusians alone, and led his host against Rome. But not wishing to have it thought that his people were rejoiced at the outrage, and only wanted some pretext for war, he sent and demanded the offender for punishment, and in the meantime advanced but slowly.

XVIII. When the Senate convened in Rome, many denounced the Fabii, and especially the priests called Fetiales were instant in calling upon the Senate in the name of all the gods to turn the curse of what had been done upon the one guilty man, and so to make expiation for the rest.

These Fetiales were instituted by Numa Pompilius, gentlest and justest of kings, to be the guardians of peace, as well as judges and determiners of the grounds on which war could justly be made.

2 Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνενεγκαμένης τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ὅμοια τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγορούντων, οὕτω περιὕβρισαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ κατεγέλασαν, ὥστε καὶ χιλίαρχον ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν Φάβιον μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ χαλεπῶς φέροντες οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς σπουδῆς, ἀλλ'
3 ἐχώρουν παντὶ τάχει· καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ βίαν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν διὰ μέσου, καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἀπολωλέναι πᾶσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰς πόλεις εὐθὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι δοκούντων, παρ' ἐλπίδας οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν οὐδ' ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐγγὺς παρεξιόντες ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πορεύεσθαι καὶ μόνοις πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους φίλους ἐπίστασθαι.

4 Τοιαύτῃ δὲ χρωμένων ὁρμῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξῆγον οἱ χιλίαρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐνδεεῖς (ἐγένοντο γὰρ ὁπλῖται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους), ἀνασκήτους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἁπτομένους ὅπλων. ἔτι δ' ἐξημέλητο τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτε καλλιερήσασιν οὔτε μάντεις ἃ πρὸ κινδύνου καὶ μάχης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρομένοις.
5 οὐδενὸς δὲ ἧττον ἐπετάραττεν ἡ πολυαρχία τὰ πραττόμενα. καίτοι πρότερόν γε καὶ πρὸς ἐλάττονας ἀγῶνας εἵλοντο πολλάκις μονάρχους, οὓς Δικτάτορας καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσον ἐστὶν εἰς ἐπισφαλῆ καιρὸν ὄφελος μιᾷ χρωμένους γνώμῃ πρὸς ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἐν χερσὶ τὴν
6 δίκην ἔχουσαν εὐτακτεῖν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ

The Senate referred the matter to the people, and although the priests with one accord denounced Fabius, the multitude so scorned and mocked at religion as to appoint him military tribune, along with his brothers. The Gauls, on learning this, were wroth, and suffered nothing to impede their haste, but advanced with all speed. What with their numbers, the splendour of their equipment, and their furious violence, they struck terror wherever they came. Men thought the lands about their cities lost already, and their cities sure to follow at once. But contrary to all expectation the enemy did them no harm, nor took aught from their fields, but even as they passed close by their cities shouted out that they were marching on Rome and warred only on the Romans, but held the rest as friends.

Against this onset of the Barbarians the military tribunes led the Romans forth to battle. They were not inferior in numbers, being no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms, but most of them were untrained, and had never handled weapons before. Besides, they had neglected all religious rites, having neither sacrificed with good omens, nor consulted the prophets as was meet before the perils of battle. But what most of all confounded their undertakings was the number of their commanders. And yet before this, and on the brink of lesser struggles, they had often chosen a single commander, with the title of Dictator, not unaware how great an advantage it is, when confronting a dangerous crisis, to be of one mind in paying obedience to an authority which is absolute, and holds the scales of justice in its own hands. Moreover, their unfair treatment of Camillus

Κάμιλλος ἀγνωμονηθεὶς ἔβλαψε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ κολακεύοντας ἄρχειν φοβεροῦ γενομένου.

Προελθόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ἐνενήκοντα παρὰ τὸν Ἁλίαν ποταμὸν ηὐλίσθησαν, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Θύμβριδι συμφερόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφανέντων αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι δι' ἀταξίαν
7 ἐτράποντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κέρας εὐθὺς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ διέφθειραν· τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ὑπεκκλῖναν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοὺς λόφους ἧττον ἐξεκόπη· καὶ διεξέπεσον ἀπὸ τούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ πολλοί. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις, ὅσοι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειπόντων πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἐσώθησαν, εἰς Οὐηΐους αἱ φυγαὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἦσαν, ὡς τῆς Ῥώμης οἰχομένης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀπολωλότων.

XIX. Ἐγένετο δ' ἡ μάχη μετὰ τροπὰς θερινὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ μέγα πάθος συνέβη τὸ περὶ τοὺς Φαβίους· τριακόσιοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἄνδρες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἥττης Ἁλιάδα μέχρι νῦν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

Περὶ δ' ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων, εἴτε χρὴ τίθεσθαί τινας, εἴτε ὀρθῶς Ἡράκλειτος ἐπέπληξεν Ἡσιόδῳ τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ποιουμένῳ, τὰς δὲ φαύλας, ὡς ἀγνοοῦντι φύσιν ἡμέρας ἁπάσης μίαν οὖσαν,
2 ἑτέρωθι διηπόρηται. τῇ δ' ὑποκειμένῃ γραφῇ τὸ μνημονεῦσαι παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων ἴσως ἂν

was in no slight degree fatal to discipline, since it was now dangerous to hold command without paying regard to the pleasure and caprice of the people.

They advanced from the city about eleven miles, and encamped along the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the Barbarians came suddenly upon them, and after a disorderly and shameful struggle, they were routed. Their left wing was at once driven into the river by the Gauls and destroyed; their right wing was less cut up, because it withdrew before the enemy's onset from the plain to the hills, from which most of them made their way back to the city. The rest, as many as escaped the enemy's hands, which were weary with slaughter, fled by night to Veii. They thought that Rome was lost and all her people slain.

XIX. The battle[1] took place just after the summer solstice when the moon was near the full, on the very day of a former great disaster, when three hundred men of the Fabian gens had been cut to pieces by the Tuscans. But the second defeat was so much the worse that the day on which it fell is called down to the present time "dies Alliensis," from the river.

Now concerning "dies nefasti," or unlucky days, whether we must regard some as such, or whether Heracleitus was right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and some bad, in his ignorance that the nature of every day is one and the same,—this question has been fully discussed elsewhere. Still, even in what I am now writing, the mention of a few

[1] 390 B.C.

ἁρμόσειε. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Βοιωτοῖς Ἱπποδρομίου μηνός, ὡς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἱσταμένου πέμπτῃ δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἷς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρωσαν, τήν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κερησσῷ ταύτης πρότερον ἔτεσι πλείοσιν ἢ διακοσίοις, ὅτε
3 Λατταμύαν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν. τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν Πέρσαι μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, τρίτῃ δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἅμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πέμπτῃ δὲ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ἐνίκων ναυμαχίαν, ἧς Χαβρίας ἐστρατήγει, τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας,
4 ὡς ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡμερῶν ἀποδέδεικται. ἐνήνοχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Θαργηλιὼν μὴν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιδήλως ἀτυχίας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς Θαργηλιῶνος ἐνίκησε, καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἡττῶντο τῇ ἑβδόμῃ φθίνοντος, περὶ ἣν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἁλῶναι, Θαργηλιῶνος,[1] ὡς Ἔφορος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ
5 Φύλαρχος ἱστορήκασιν. ἀνάπαλιν δ' ὁ Μεταγειτνιών, ὃν Βοιωτοὶ Πάνεμον καλοῦσιν, τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ εὐμενὴς γέγονε. τούτου γὰρ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑβδόμῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Κρανῶνι μάχην ἡττηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τελέως ἀπώλοντο, καὶ πρότερον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἠτύχησαν. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐν τῷ Μεταγειτνιῶνι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ μετ' Ἀρχιδάμου διαβάντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων

[1] Θαργηλιῶνος deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

examples may not be amiss. To begin with, then, it was on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromius (which the Athenians call Hecatombaeon) that the Boeotians won two illustrious victories which set the Greeks free: that at Leuctra, and that at Ceressus more than two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the sixth day of the month of Boedromion the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon, on the third day at Plataea and Mycale together, and on the twenty-sixth day at Arbela. Moreover, it was about full moon of the same month that the Athenians won their sea-fight off Naxos, under the command of Chabrias, and about the twentieth, that at Salamis, as has been set forth in my treatise "On days." Further, the month of Thargelion has clearly been a disastrous one for the Barbarians, for in that month the generals of the King were conquered by Alexander at the Granicus, and on the twenty-fourth of the month the Carthaginians were worsted by Timoleon off Sicily. On this day, too, of Thargelion, it appears that Ilium was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. Contrarywise, the month of Metageitnion (which the Boeotians call Panemus) has not been favourable to the Greeks. On the seventh of this month they were worsted by Antipater in the battle of Crannon, and utterly undone; before this they had fought Philip unsuccessfully at Chaeroneia on that day of the month; and in the same year, and on the same day of Metageitnion, Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there.

6 διεφθάρησαν. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην φθίνοντος ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ φέρουσαν παραφυλάττουσιν.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν τῶν μυστηρίων καιρὸν αὖθις Θῆβαί τε κατεσκάφησαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρουρὰν Ἀθηναῖοι Μακεδόνων ἐδέξαντο περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶ-
7 νος, ᾗ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἴακχον ἐξάγουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κίμβρων τὸ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπέβαλον στρατόπεδον, ὕστερον δὲ Λουκούλλου στρατηγοῦντος Ἀρμενίους καὶ Τιγράνην ἐνίκησαν. Ἄτταλος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανον. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ταῖς αὐταῖς χρησαμένους ἀποδεῖξαι περιόδοις.

8 Ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις αὕτη μία τῶν μάλιστα ἀποφράδων ἐστί, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἕτεραι δύο, τῆς πρὸς τὸ συμβὰν εὐλαβείας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, ῥυείσης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰτιῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπιμελέστερον διῄρηται.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε τὴν Ῥώμην ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταλειφθέντας· τοσοῦτον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐνειργάζοντο δεῖμα τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις, καὶ τοσαύτης πάλιν ἐνεπίμπλαντο
2 ταραχῆς καὶ παραφροσύνης. νυνὶ δ' ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς νίκης καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθει-

The Carthaginians also regard with fear the twenty-second of this month, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes.

I am not unaware that, at about the time when the mysteries are celebrated, Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison on the twentieth of Boedromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the self-same day, saw their army under Caepio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later, when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birth-days. In short, one can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes upon the same men.

But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of each month throughout the year, since in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my "Roman Questions."[1]

XX. Now had the Gauls, after this battle, followed hard upon the fugitives, naught would have hindered Rome from being utterly destroyed and all those who remained in her from perishing, such was the terror which the fugitives infused into the occupants of the city, and with such confusion and delirium were they themselves once more filled. But as it was, the Barbarians could not realize the magnitude of their

[1] *Morals*, pp. 269 f.

αν ἐκ τοῦ περιχαροῦς ἅμα καὶ νεμήσεις τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χρημάτων τραπόμενοι, τῷ μὲν ἐκπίπτοντι τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ ῥᾳστώνην φυγῆς παρέσχον, ἐλπίσαι δ' ἔτι καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τοῖς ὑπομένουσι. τὴν γὰρ ἄλλην πόλιν προέμενοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐφράξαντο
3 βέλεσι καὶ διατειχίσμασιν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἃ μὲν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεσκευάσαντο, τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῆς Ἑστίας αἱ παρθένοι μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔφευγον ἁρπασάμεναι. 13

Καίτοι τινὲς οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸ φρουρούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἢ πῦρ ἄφθιτον ἱστοροῦσι, Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως καταστήσαντος ὡς ἀρχὴν ἁπάντων
4 σέβεσθαι. κινητικώτατον γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦτο· κίνησις δέ τις ἢ σύν τινι κινήσει πάντως ἡ γένεσις· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς ὕλης μόρια θερμότητος ἐπιλιπούσης ἀργὰ κείμενα καὶ νεκροῖς ἐοικότα ποθεῖ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν, ὡς ψυχήν, καὶ προσελθούσης ἁμῶς γέ πως ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν τι καὶ πάσχειν τρέπεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἅτε δὴ περιττὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Νομᾶν καὶ λόγον ἔχοντα ταῖς Μούσαις συνεῖναι διὰ σοφίαν ἐξοσιῶσαι καὶ φρουρεῖν ἀκοίμητον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς τὰ πάντα κοσμούσης
5 ἀϊδίου δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἕλλησι, πρὸ ἱερῶν αἴθεσθαι καθάρσιον, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀθέατα κρύπτεσθαι πᾶσι, πλὴν ταύταις ταῖς παρθένοις, ἃς Ἑστιάδας ἐπονομάζουσι.

victory, and in the excess of their joy, turned to revelry and the distribution of the good things captured in their enemy's camp. For this reason the throngs who were for abandoning the city had ample time for flight, and those who were for remaining plucked up hope and prepared to defend themselves. Abandoning the rest of the city, they fenced the Capitol with ramparts and stocked it with missiles. But their first care was for their sacred things, most of which they carried away to the Capitol; the fire of Vesta, however, was snatched up and carried off by the vestal virgins in their flight, along with the other sacred things entrusted to their care.

However, some writers state that these virgins have watch and ward over nothing more than the ever-living fire, which Numa the King appointed to be worshipped as the first cause of all things. For fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion, or is accompanied by motion. All other portions of matter, in the absence of heat, lie inert and dead, yearning for the force of fire to inform them, like a spirit, and on its accession in any manner soever, they become capable of acting and being acted upon. This principle of fire, then, Numa, who was an extraordinary man, and whose wisdom gave him the repute of holding converse with the Muses, is said to have hallowed and ordered to be kept sleepless, that it might image forth the ever-living force which orders the universe aright. Others say that this fire is kept burning before the sacred things by way of purification, as among the Greeks, and that other objects within the temple are kept hidden from the gaze of all except these virgins, whom they call

καὶ πλεῖστος μὲν λόγος κατεῖχε τὸ Τρωϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο Παλλάδιον ἀποκεῖσθαι δι' Αἰνείου κομισθὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰ Σαμοθρᾴκια μυθολογοῦντες Δάρδανον μὲν εἰς Τροίαν ἐξενεγκάμενον ὀργιάσαι καὶ καθιερῶσαι κτίσαντα τὴν πόλιν, Αἰνείαν δὲ περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐκκλέψαντα
6 διασῶσαι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικήσεως. οἱ δὲ προσποιούμενοι πλέον ἐπίστασθαί τι περὶ τούτων δύο φασὶν οὐ μεγάλους ἀποκεῖσθαι πίθους, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἀνεῳγότα καὶ κενόν, τὸν δὲ πλήρη καὶ κατασεσημασμένον, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ ταῖς παναγέσι μόναις παρθένοις ὁρατοὺς εἶναι. ἄλλοι δὲ τούτους διεψεῦσθαι νομίζουσι τῷ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν τότε τὰς κόρας ἐμβαλούσας εἰς πίθους δύο κρύψαι κατὰ γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Κυρίνου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν Πιθίσκων φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

XXI. Τὰ δὲ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἱερῶν αὗται λαβοῦσαι φυγῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. ἐνταῦθα Λεύκιος Ἀλβίνιος[1] ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔτυχε τέκνα νήπια καὶ γυναῖκα μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναγκαίων ἐφ' ἁμάξης ὑπεκκομίζων. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὰς παρθένους ἐν τοῖς κόλποις φερούσας τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ θεραπείας ἐρήμους παραπορευομένας καὶ κακοπαθούσας, ταχὺ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐκείναις παρέδωκεν ἐπιβῆναι καὶ δια-

[1] Ἀλβίνιος S and Livy, v. 40: Ἀλβῖνος.

Vestals. And a very prevalent story had it that the famous Palladium of Troy was hidden away there, having been brought to Italy by Aeneas. There are some who say that it is the Samothracian images which are hidden there, and they tell the tale of Dardanus bringing these to Troy, after he had founded that city, and consecrating them there with celebration of their rites; and of Aeneas, at the capture of Troy, stealing them away and preserving them until he settled in Italy. Others still, pretending to have larger knowledge in these matters, say that two small jars are stored away there, of which one is open and empty, and the other full and sealed up, and that both are visible only to the holy virgins. But others think that these knowing ones have been led astray by the fact that the virgins, at the time of which I am now speaking, cast the most of their sacred treasures into two jars, and hid them underground in the temple of Quirinus, whence that place, down to the present time, has the name of "Doliola," or "Jars."

XXI. However that may be, these virgins took the choicest and most important of the sacred objects and fled away along the river. There it chanced that Lucius Albinius, a man of the common people, was among the fugitives, carrying off his wife and little children, with the most necessary household goods, upon a waggon. When he saw the virgins with the sacred symbols of the gods in their bosoms, making their way along unattended and in great distress, he speedily took his wife, with the children and the household goods, down from the waggon, and suffered the virgins to mount upon it and make

2 φυγεῖν εἴς τινα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἀλβινίου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ἐκφανῆ γενομένην οὐκ ἄξιον ἣν ἀμνημόνευτον παρελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερεῖς οἵ τε γηραιοὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ θριαμβικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἱερὰς δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐσθῆτας, ἐξηγουμένου Φαβίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τῷ δαίμονι καθιεροῦντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων δίφρων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐκάθηντο[1] κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τύχην ὑπομένοντες.

XXII. Τρίτῃ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Βρέννος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τάς τε πύλας εὑρὼν ἀνεῳγμένας καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων ἔρημα, πρῶτον μὲν ἔδεισεν ἐνέδραν καὶ δόλον, ἀπιστῶν οὕτω παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὸ ἀληθές, εἰσελάσας διὰ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης εἷλε τὴν Ῥώμην ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείονα βραχὺ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἔχουσαν, εἴ τῳ πιστὸν ἀποσώζεσθαί τινα τῶν χρόνων ἀκρίβειαν, οἷς καὶ περὶ νεωτέρων ἄλλων ἀμφισβήτησιν ἡ
2 σύγχυσις ἐκείνη παρέσχε. τοῦ μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἔοικεν ἀμυδρά τις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ 14
ὁ Ποντικὸς οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συγγράμματί φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας λόγον κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ῥήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που κατῳκημένην περὶ

[1] ἐκάθηντο with all MSS. and editors : καθῆντο.

their escape to a Greek city. This pious act of Albinius, and the conspicuous honour which he showed the gods in a season of the greatest danger, could not well be passed over in silence.

But the priests of the other gods, and the aged men who had been consuls and celebrated triumphs, could not endure to leave the city. So they put on their robes of state and ceremony, following the lead of Fabius, the pontifex maximus, and vowed the gods that they would devote themselves to death in their country's behalf. Then they sat themselves down, thus arrayed, on their ivory chairs in the forum, and awaited their fate.

XXII. On the third day after the battle, Brennus came up to the city with his army. Finding its gates open and its walls without defenders, at first he feared a treacherous ambush, being unable to believe that the Romans were in such utter despair. But when he realised the truth, he marched in by the Colline gate, and took Rome. This was a little more than three hundred and sixty years from her foundation, if one can believe that any accurate chronology has been preserved in this matter, when that of even later events is disputed, owing to the confusion caused by this very disaster. However, it would seem that some vague tidings of the calamity and capture of the city made their way at once to Greece. For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise "On the soul," says that out of the West a story prevailed, how an army of Hyperboreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores

3 τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἶναί φησιν· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Λεύκιος, ὁ Κάμιλλος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ λέλεκται.

4 Κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Βρέννος τῷ μὲν Καπιτωλίῳ φρουρὰν περιέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐθαύμαζε τοὺς προκαθημένους ἄνδρας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ θεώμενος, ὡς οὔθ' ὑπεξανέστησαν ἐπιόντων πολεμίων οὔτ' ὄψιν ἢ χρόαν ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐγκεκλιμένοι τοῖς σκίπωσιν, οὓς ἐφόρουν,[1] καὶ προσ-
5 βλέποντες ἀλλήλοις ἡσύχαζον. ἦν οὖν θαῦμα τοῖς Γαλάταις πρὸς τὴν ἀτοπίαν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀκνοῦντες ἅψασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ὡς κρείττοσι διηπόρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τολμήσας τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς παρέστη Παπειρίῳ Μάρκῳ καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα πρᾴως ἥψατο τοῦ γενείου καὶ κατῆγε τὴν ὑπήνην βαθεῖαν οὖσαν, ὁ μὲν Παπείριος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πατάξας συνέτριψεν, ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος σπασάμενος
6 τὴν μάχαιραν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκεῖνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνῄρουν προσπεσόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐπιτύχοιεν διεχρῶντο, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπόρθουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες, εἶτα κατεπίμπρασαν καὶ κατέσκαπτον ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὅτι

[1] ἐφόρουν with S: ἔφεροι.

of the Great Sea. Now I cannot wonder that so fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should deck out the true story of the capture of Rome with his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." But Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he says that its saviour was Lucius, although the forename of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. However, these details were matters of conjecture.

When he had occupied Rome, Brennus surrounded the Capitol with a guard. He himself went down through the forum, and was amazed to see the men sitting there in public state and perfect silence. They neither rose up to meet their enemies when they approached, nor did they change countenance or colour, but sat there quietly, at ease and without fear, leaning on their staves and gazing into one another's faces. The Gauls were amazed and perplexed at the unwonted sight, and for a long time hesitated to approach and touch them, regarding them as superior beings. But at last one of them, plucking up his courage, drew near Papirius Marcus, and stretching out his hand, gently grasped his chin and stroked his long beard, whereupon Papirius, with his staff, smote him a crushing blow on the head. Then the Barbarian drew his sword and killed him. After that, they fell upon the rest and slew them, made away with every one else they met, sacked and plundered the houses of the city for many days together, and finally burned them down and levelled them with the ground, in their wrath at the defenders of the Capitol. For these would not

καλούντων αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσβάλλουσι πληγὰς ἔδοσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀμυνόμενοι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐλυμήναντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ προσδιέφθειραν τοὺς ἁλισκομένους, ὁμοίως μὲν ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὁμοίως δὲ πρεσβύτας καὶ παῖδας.

XXIII. Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης ἐπισιτισμοῦ τοῖς Γαλάταις ἔδει· καὶ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραμένοντες ἐφρούρουν τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν περιϊόντες ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουν προσπίπτοντες, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλῃ καθ' ἡγεμονίας καὶ συντάγματα, τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καὶ δεδιέναι μηδὲν ἀπο-
2 σκιδνάμενοι. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα συντεταγμένον ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ διέτριβε Κάμιλλος ἀργῶν ταῖς πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων, ἐλπίδας δὲ λαμβάνων καὶ διαλογισμοὺς οὐχὶ τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγαπῶντος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὅπως, εἰ παραγένοιτο καιρός, ἀμυνεῖται
3 σκοποῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας ὁρῶν πλήθει μὲν ἱκανοὺς ὄντας, ἐνδεεῖς δὲ τόλμης δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐνέβαλε λόγον εἰς τοὺς νέους πρῶτον, ὡς οὐ χρὴ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀτυχίαν ἀνδρείαν Κελτῶν νομίζειν, οὐδ' ἃ κακῶς φρονήσασι συνέβη παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἔργα τῶν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ νικῆσαι παρασχόντων, ἀλλὰ τύχης
4 ἐπίδειξιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον καὶ βαρβαρικόν, ᾧ τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας, ὥσπερ τῷ πυρί, διαφθαρῆναι τὸ νικώμενον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ

surrender at their summons, but when they were attacked, actually repulsed their foes from the ramparts with loss. Therefore the Gauls inflicted every outrage upon the city, and put to the sword all whom they captured, men and women, old and young alike.

XXIII. The siege lasted a long time, and the Gauls began to lack provisions. They therefore divided their forces. Some remained with their king and watched the Capitol, others ravaged the country round about, falling upon the villages and sacking them, not all together in one body, but scattered about by commands and companies, some here, some there, moved by their successes to great confidence and the fear of nothing. The largest and best disciplined body of them marched upon the city of Ardea, where Camillus was staying since his exile. He lived in complete retirement and privacy, it is true, but cherished the hopes and plans not of a man who eagerly desired to escape the notice and hands of the enemy, but of one who sought to avenge himself upon them if occasion offered. Wherefore, seeing that the Ardeans were of sufficient numbers, but lacked courage, through the inexperience and effeminacy of their generals, he began to reason with the young men first, to the effect that the mishap of the Romans ought not to be laid to the valour of the Gauls, nor the sufferings of that infatuated people to the prowess of men who did not deserve their victory, but rather to the dictates of fortune. It was a fine thing, he said, even at dangerous risks, to repel the attack of an alien and barbarous folk, whose only end in getting the mastery was, as in the work of fire, the utter destruction of what it conquered. But

καὶ θαρροῦσι καὶ προθυμουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀκίν-
δυνον ἐν καιρῷ τὴν νίκην παρέξειν.

Τούτους τοὺς λόγους τῶν νέων δεξαμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ᾔει καὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν
ὁ Κάμιλλος. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνους συνέπεισεν, ὥπλισε 14
τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας καὶ συνεῖχε τοῦ τείχους
ἐντός, ἀγνοεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
5 ἐγγὺς ὄντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἱππασάμενοι
καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἀγομένων καὶ
φερομένων ἀμελῶς καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου νὺξ ἐπῆλθε
μεθύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιωπὴ κατέσχε τὸ στρατό-
πεδον, πυθόμενος ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων
ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐξῆγε τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας· καὶ διελθὼν
καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον περὶ μέσας
νύκτας προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι κραυγῇ τε χρώμενος
πολλῇ καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι πανταχόθεν ἐκταράτ-
των ἀνθρώπους κακῶς ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ μόλις ἐκ
τῶν ὕπνων ἀναφέροντας πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον.
6 ὀλίγοι μὲν οὖν ἀνανήψαντες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ
διασκευασάμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπέ-
στησαν, ὥστ' ἀμυνόμενοι πεσεῖν· τοὺς δὲ πλεί-
στους ἔτι κρατουμένους ὕπνῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καταλαμ-
βάνοντες ἀνόπλους ἔκτεινον. ὅσοι δὲ νυκτὸς
ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐ πολλοί, τούτους
μεθ' ἡμέραν σποράδας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διαφερομένους
ἐπελαύνοντες ἱππεῖς διέφθειρον.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ φήμη ταχὺ διαγγέλλουσα τὴν
πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξεκαλεῖτο πολλοὺς τῶν
ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συνισταμένους, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίων
ὅσοι διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλίᾳ μάχης ἐν
Οὐηΐοις ἦσαν· καὶ ὠδύροντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς,

in the present case, if they were bold and zealous, he would find occasion to give them a victory without any danger.

After gaining the support of the young men, Camillus went to the rulers and councillors of Ardea, and when he had won them over also, he armed all who were of age for service and kept them together within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy, who were near. These had scoured the country round about, and encamped in the plain, without care or concern, and heavily encumbered with their abundant booty. When night had fallen upon them, putting an end to their carousals, and silence reigned throughout their camp, Camillus, acquainted with this by his scouts, led forth the Ardeans. Passing quietly over the intervening space, they reached the camp about midnight, and with shouts and trumpet blasts on every hand confounded the men, who were scarcely brought to their senses by the din, heavy as they were with drunkenness and sleep. A few of them were sobered by fear, armed themselves, and made resistance to Camillus and his men, so that they fell fighting; but most were still mastered by sleep and wine when they were fallen upon and slain without their arms. A few only ran from the camp, under cover of darkness, and when day came, were seen straggling about the fields, but horsemen pursued them and cut them to pieces.

XXIV. Rumour quickly carried news of this exploit to the neighbouring cities, and called to arms many of those who were of age for service, particularly the Romans who had made their escape from the battle on the Allia, and were in Veii. These

"Οἷον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ῥώμης ὁ δαίμων ἀφελόμενος
Ἀρδεάτας ἐκόσμησε τοῖς Καμίλλου κατορθώ-
μασιν, ἡ δὲ γειναμένη καὶ θρέψασα τοιοῦτον
2 ἄνδρα πόλις οἴχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν. ἡμεῖς δ'
ἀπορίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀλλότρια τείχη περιβαλό-
μενοι καθήμεθα προέμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. φέρε,
πέμψαντες Ἀρδεάτας ἀπαιτῶμεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν
στρατηγόν, ἢ λαβόντες αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον βαδίζωμεν· οὐκέτι γάρ ἐστι φυγὰς οὐδ'
ἡμεῖς πολῖται πατρίδος οὐκ οὔσης, ἀλλὰ κρατου-
μένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων." ταῦτ' ἔδοξε καὶ
πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Καμίλλου δέχεσθαι τὴν
3 ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ πολίτας ἐπιψηφίσασθαι κατὰ τὸν
νόμον. ἐκείνους γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι πατρίδα σωζο-
μένους, καὶ κελεύουσι μὲν ὑπακούειν προθύμως,
ἀκόντων δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν. τῆς μὲν
οὖν εὐλαβείας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τὸν Κάμιλλον
ἐθαύμασαν. ἦν δ' ἀπορία τοῦ ταῦτα διαγγε-
λοῦντος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως
ἀδύνατον ἐδόκει τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν
ἄγγελον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρελθεῖν.

XXV. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς νέοις Πόντιος Κο-
μίνιος, τῶν μέσων κατὰ γένος πολιτῶν, δόξης δὲ
καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστής· οὗτος ὑπέστη τὸν ἆθλον
ἑκούσιος. καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μὴ ληφθέντος αὐτοῦ
φωράσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ Καμίλλου
τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φαύλην ἔχων καὶ
φελλοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῇ κομίζων τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁδὸν
ἡμέρας ἀδεῶς διῆλθεν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως

lamented among themselves, saying: "Of what a leader has heaven robbed Rome in Camillus, only to adorn Ardea with his victories! The city which bore and reared such a hero is dead and gone, and we, for lack of generals, sit pent up within alien walls, and see Italy ruined before our very eyes. Come! let us send to Ardea and demand our own general, or take our arms and go ourselves to him! For he is no longer an exile, nor are we citizens, now that our country is no more, but is mastered by the enemy." So said, so done, and they sent and asked Camillus to take the command. But he refused to do so before the citizens on the Capitol had legally elected him. They were preserving the country, as he thought, and if they had commands for him, he would gladly obey, but against their wishes he would meddle with nothing whatsoever. This noble restraint on the part of Camillus was much admired, but it was hard to see how the matter could be referred to the Capitol. Nay rather, it seemed utterly impossible, while the enemy held the city, for a messenger to elude them and reach the acropolis.

XXV. But there was a certain young man, Pontius Cominius by name, who was, in spite of his ordinary birth, a lover of glory and honour. He volunteered to attempt the task. He took no letter with him to the defenders of the Capitol, lest this, in the event of his capture, should help the enemy to discover the purpose of Camillus; but under the coarse garments which he wore, he carried some pieces of cork. The greater part of his journey was made by daylight and without fear; but as night came on he found himself near the city.

γενόμενος ἤδη σκοταῖος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γέφυραν οὐκ
ἦν τὸν ποταμὸν περᾶσαι τῶν βαρβάρων παρα-
2 φυλαττόντων, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα τῇ κεφαλῇ περι-
σπειράσας οὐ πολλὴν οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν, τοῖς δὲ
φελλοῖς ἐφεὶς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεπικουφίζων τῷ[1]
περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβη. καὶ παραλ-
λάττων ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐγρηγορότας, τοῖς φέγγεσι καὶ
τῷ θορύβῳ τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν
Καρμεντίδα πύλην, ἣ πλείστην εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν,
καὶ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὴν ὄρθιος ὁ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
λόφος ἀνέστηκε καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πολλὴ καὶ
τραχεῖα περιπέφυκε· δι' ἧς ἀνέβη λαθὼν καὶ
προσέμιξε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὸ διατείχισμα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις κατὰ τὸ λαγαρώτατον.
3 ἀσπάσαμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φράσας ἑαυτὸν
ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀναληφθεὶς ἐχώρει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει
τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ταχὺ δὲ συγκλήτου γενομένης 142
παρελθὼν τήν τε νίκην ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Καμίλλου
πρότερον οὐ πυθομένοις, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς
στρατιώταις διηγεῖτο· καὶ παρεκάλει τῷ Κα-
μίλλῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μόνῳ πεισο-
4 μένων ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἔξω πολιτῶν. οἱ δ' ἀκού-
σαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τόν τε Κάμιλλον ἀπο-
δεικνύουσι δικτάτορα, καὶ τὸν Πόντιον αὖθις
ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
χρησάμενον. ἔλαθε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς ἔξω Ῥωμαίοις.

XXVI. Ἐκείνων δὲ δεξαμένων προθύμως ἀφι-
κόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος ἤδη μὲν ἐν ὅπλοις δισμυρίους
κατέλαβε, πλείονας δὲ συνῆγεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-

[1] τῷ Bekker supplies ἐν with Bryan.

He could not cross the river by the bridge, since the Barbarians were guarding it, so he wrapped his light and scanty garments about his head, fastened the corks to his body, and thus supported, swam across, came out on the other side, and went on towards the city. Always giving a wide berth to those of the enemy who were watchful and wakeful, as he judged by their fires and noise, he made his way to the Carmental gate, where there was the most quiet, at which the Capitoline hill was most sheer and steep, and which was girt about by a huge and jagged cliff. Up this he mounted unperceived, and finally reached, with great pains and difficulty, the sentries posted where the wall was lowest. Hailing them, and telling them who he was, he was pulled up over the wall, and taken to the Roman magistrates. The Senate quickly convening, he appeared before it, announced the victory of Camillus, about which they had not heard, and explained to them the will and pleasure of his fellow-soldiers. He exhorted them to confirm Camillus in his command, since he was the only man whom the citizens outside would obey. When the Senate had heard his message and deliberated upon it, they appointed Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back again by the way he had come, wherein he repeated his former good fortune. For he eluded the enemy's notice and brought the Senate's message to the Romans outside the city.

XXVI. These gave eager welcome to the tidings, so that when Camillus came, he found twenty thousand men already under arms. He collected

μάχων καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. οὕτω μὲν ᾗρέθη δικτάτωρ ὁ Κάμιλλος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς Οὐηΐους ἐνέτυχε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγε πλείους ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὡς ἐπιθησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.[1]

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἐκείνῃ κατὰ τύχην παρεξιόντες, ᾗ διὰ νυκτὸς ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καταμαθόντες πολλαχῇ μὲν ἴχνη ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, ὡς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ περιεδράττετο, πολλαχῇ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκότων τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἀποτριβὰς καὶ περιολισθήσεις τῶν
2 γεωδῶν, φράζουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. κἀκεῖνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τότε μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἑσπέρας δὲ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πεφυκότας ὀρειβατεῖν μάλιστα τῶν Κελτῶν συναγαγών, "Τὴν μὲν ὁδόν," εἶπεν, "ἡμῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοουμένην οἱ πολέμιοι δεικνύουσιν ὡς οὔτ' ἀπόρευτος οὔτε ἄβατος ἀνθρώποις ἐστιν, αἰσχύνη δὲ πολλὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας ἐλλείπειν πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ προέσθαι τὸν τόπον ὡς ἀνάλωτον, αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ᾗ ληπτός ἐστι διδασκόντων. ᾗ γὰρ ἑνὶ προσβῆναι ῥᾴδιον, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς καθ' ἕνα δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμη καὶ βοήθεια πολλὴ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐπιχειροῦσι. δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἑκάστῳ δοθήσονται."

XXVII. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως διαλεχθέντος ὑπέστησαν οἱ Γαλάται προθύμως, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβάντες ἅμα πολλοὶ τῆς πέτρας

[1] Οὕτω . . . πολεμίοις deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

still more from the allies, and made preparations for his attack. Thus Camillus was chosen dictator for the second time, and proceeding to Veii, he put himself at the head of the soldiers there, and collected more from the allies, with the purpose of attacking the enemy.

But in Rome, some of the Barbarians chanced to pass by the spot where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitōl, and noticed in many places the marks made by his hands and feet in clambering up, and many places also where the plants that grew upon the rocks had been torn away, and the earth displaced. They advised their king of this, and he too came and made inspection. At the time he said nothing, but when evening came, he assembled the nimblest men and the best mountain-climbers of the Gauls and said to them: "The enemy have shown us that there is a way up to them of which we knew not, and one which men can traverse and tread. It would be a great shame for us, after such a beginning as we have made, to fail at the end, and to give the place up as impregnable, when the enemy themselves show us where it can be taken. For where it is easy for one man to approach it, there it will be no difficult matter for many to go one by one, nay, they will support and aid one another greatly in the undertaking. Gifts and honours befitting his valour shall be given to every man."

XXVII. So spake their king, and the Gauls eagerly undertook to do his will. About midnight a large band of them scaled the cliff and made

ἐχώρουν ἄνω μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἐμφυόμενοι τοῖς χωρίοις ἀποτόμοις οὖσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδοκήθη πειρωμένων αὐτῶν
2 προσιεμένοις καὶ παρείκουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρώτους ἁψαμένους τῶν ἄκρων καὶ διασκευασαμένους ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιχειρεῖν κοιμωμένοις· ᾔσθετο γὰρ οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος οὔτε κύων. ἀλλὰ χῆνες ἦσαν ἱεροὶ περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἥρας τρεφόμενοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀφθόνως, τότε δὲ τῶν σιτίων ἤδη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις αὐτοῖς διαρ-
3 κούντων ἀμελούμενοι κακῶς ἔπραττον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει πρὸς αἴσθησιν ὀξὺ καὶ ψοφοδεὲς τὸ ζῷον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λιμὸν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἔφοδον ᾔσθοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγγῆς φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἅπαντας, ἤδη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν ἀφειδούντων θορύβου καὶ βιαιότερον
4 ἐπιτιθεμένων. ἁρπάσαντες οὖν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ᾧ τις ἕκαστος ὅπλῳ προσετύγχανεν, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐβοήθουν. πάντων δὲ πρῶτος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, τό τε σῶμα ῥωμαλέος καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς ἐπιφανής, ἀπαντήσας δυσὶν ὁμοῦ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ μὲν ἔφθασε διῃρμένου κοπίδα τῷ ξίφει τὴν δεξιὰν ἀποκόψας, τὸν δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔωσεν ὀπίσω κατὰ τῆς
5 πέτρας. ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῷ τείχει μετὰ τῶν συνδραμόντων καὶ γενομένων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέστρεψε τοὺς ἄλλους, οὔτε πολλοὺς ἄνω γενομένους οὔτε πράξαντάς τι τῆς τόλμης ἄξιον. οὕτω δὲ τὸν 14
κίνδυνον ἐκφυγόντες ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα

their way upward in silence. They climbed on all fours over places which were precipitous and rough, but which yielded to their efforts better than they had expected, until the foremost of them reached the heights, put themselves in array, and had all but seized the outwork and fallen upon the sleeping watch. Neither man nor dog was aware of their approach. But there were some sacred geese near the temple of Juno, which were usually fed without stint, but at that time, since provisions barely sufficed for the garrison alone, they were neglected and in evil plight. The creature is naturally sharp of hearing and afraid of every noise, and these, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls, dashed at them with loud cries, and so waked all the garrison. At once the Barbarians, now that they were detected, spared no noise, and came on more impetuously to the attack. The defenders, snatching up in haste whatever weapon came to hand, made the best shift they could. Manlius first of all, a man of consular dignity, mighty in body and exceeding stout of heart, confronting two of the enemy at once, cut off the right hand of one of them with his sword as he was lifting his battle-axe, and dashing his shield into the face of the other, tumbled him backwards down the cliff. Then taking his stand on the wall with those who ran to his aid and formed about him, he repulsed the rest of the enemy, who had reached the top in no great numbers, and showed no prowess to match their daring. So the Romans escaped out of their peril. At break of day, they cast the

τῶν φυλάκων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, τῷ δὲ Μαλλίῳ τῆς νίκης ἀριστεῖα πρὸς τιμὴν μεγάλην[1] μᾶλλον ἢ χρείαν ψηφισάμενοι συνήνεγκαν ὅσον ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τροφήν, σίτου μὲν ἡμίλιτρον ἐπιχωρίου (οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσιν αὐτό), οἴνου δὲ κοτύλης Ἑλληνικῆς τέταρτον.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἦν ἀθυμότερα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνιζον εἰργόμενοι προνομῆς φόβῳ τοῦ Καμίλλου, καὶ νόσος ὑποικούρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν νεκρῶν πλήθει χύδην καταβεβλημένων σκηνοῦντας ἐν ἐρειπίοις, τό τε βάθος τῆς τέφρας ἀέρα ξηρότητι καὶ δριμύτητι φαῦλον ὑπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ καυμάτων ἀναθυμιώσης ἐλυμαίνετο τὰ σώματα διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.
2 μάλιστα δ' ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς συντρόφου διαίτης ἐκ τόπων σκιερῶν καὶ θέρους καταφυγὰς ἀλύπους ἐχόντων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς χώραν ταπεινὴν καὶ κεκραμένην ἀφυῶς πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἐκίνησεν αὐτούς, ἥ τε πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καθέδρα καὶ σχολὴ γενομένη χρόνιος. ἕβδομον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον οἰκούρουν μῆνα πολιορκοῦντες. ὥστε φθορὰν εἶναι πολλὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μηδὲ θάπτεσθαι διὰ πλῆθος ἔτι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.
3 Οὐ μὴν παρὰ[2] τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα βελτίω τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦν. ἐπέτεινε γὰρ ὁ λιμός, ἥ τε τῶν περὶ Κάμιλλον ἄγνοια παρεῖχε δυσθυμίαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι

[1] μεγάλην deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
[2] παρὰ MSS. and edd., including Sintenis[1]: περὶ.

captain of the watch down the cliff among the enemy, but voted to Manlius a meed of victory which did him more honour than service. They collected for him the rations which each man of them received for one day, namely, half a pound of native spelt, Roman weight, and an eighth of a pint of wine, Greek measure.

XXVIII. After this, the case of the Gauls was less hopeful. They lacked provisions, being shut off from foraging through fear of Camillus, and disease lurked among them. They were encamped amid ruins, where a multitude of corpses had been cast at random, and besides, an air made dry and acrid by vast quantities of ashes which wind and heat sent flying abroad, made breathing hurtful. But what most of all affected them was the complete change in their mode of life. They had come all at once from regions of shade, where easy refuge could be had from the heats of summer, into a land which was low lying and had an unnatural climate towards autumn. Then there was their long and idle sitting down before the Capitol,—they were now whiling away the seventh month in its siege. For all these reasons the mortality was great in their camp; so many were the dead that they could no longer be buried.

All this, however, brought no relief to the besieged, for famine increased upon them, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing made them dejected. No messenger could come from him because the city was now closely watched

τὴν πόλιν ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὅθεν οὕτω πράττουσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίνοντο συμβατικοὶ λόγοι διὰ τῶν προφυλάκων τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις
4 ἐντυγχανόντων· εἶτα, ὡς ἔδοξε τοῖς κρατίστοις, συνελθόντος εἰς λόγους Βρέννῳ Σουλπικίου τοῦ χιλιάρχου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡμολογήθη τοὺς μὲν χιλίας λίτρας χρυσίου καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀναχωρεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὅρκων καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου κομισθέντος, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν περὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἀγνωμονούντων κρύφα τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ φανερῶς ἀφελκόντων καὶ διαστρεφόντων τὴν
5 ῥοπήν, ἠγανάκτουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οἷον ἐφυβρίζων καὶ καταγελῶν ἀποδυσάμενος[1] τὴν μάχαιραν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα προσέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. πυνθανομένου δὲ τοῦ Σουλπικίου, "Τί τοῦτο;" "Τί γὰρ ἄλλο," εἶπεν, "ἢ τοῖς νενικημένοις ὀδύνη;" τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἤδη παροιμιώδης λόγος γέγονε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ᾤοντο δεῖν λαβόντας αὖθις ἀπιέναι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπομένειν· οἱ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀδικουμένους μέτρια, καὶ μὴ τῷ πλέον διδόναι προσλογίζεσθαι τὸ αἰσχρόν, αὐτό γε τὸ δοῦναι διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ὑπομένοντας.

XXIX. Οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων πρός τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς[2] διαφορᾶς ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἦν· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ γινόμενα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τάξει καὶ σχέδην ἐπακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ

[1] ἀποδυσάμενος with S: ἀπολυσάμενος *unfastening*.
[2] αὐτοὺς Sintenis[2] with C: αὐτοὺς Bekker and Sintenis[1].

by the Barbarians. Wherefore, both parties being in such a plight, a compromise was proposed, at first by the outposts as they encountered one another. Then, since those in authority thought it best, Sulpicius, the military tribune of the Romans, held a conference with Brennus, and it was agreed that on the delivery of a thousand pounds of gold by the Romans, the Gauls should straightway depart out of the city and the country. Oaths were sworn to these terms, and the gold was brought to be weighed. But the Gauls tampered with the scales, secretly at first, then they openly pulled the balance back out of its poise. The Romans were incensed at this, but Brennus, with a mocking laugh, stripped off his sword, and added it, belt and all, to the weights. When Sulpicius asked, "What means this?" "What else," said Brennus, "but woe to the vanquished?"[1] and the phrase passed at once into a proverb. Some of the Romans were incensed, and thought they ought to go back again with their gold, and endure the siege. Others urged acquiescence in the mild injustice. Their shame lay, they argued, not in giving more, but in giving at all. This they consented to do because of the emergency; it was not honourable, but it was necessary.

XXIX. While they were thus at odds in the matter, both with the Gauls and with themselves, Camillus led his army up to the gates of the city. On learning what was going on, he ordered the rest of his army to follow in battle array and deliberately,

[1] *Vae victis!*

τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπειγόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς
2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. διαστάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα κόσμῳ καὶ
σιωπῇ, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῖς
ὑπηρέταις ἔδωκε, τὸν δὲ ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ
τοὺς Κελτοὺς λαβόντας ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
εἰπών, ὡς σιδήρῳ πάτριόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐ
χρυσῷ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ
τοῦ Βρέννου καὶ φάσκοντος ἀδικεῖσθαι λυομένης
τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἀντεῖπε μὴ νομίμως γεγονέναι
3 μηδὲ κυρίας εἶναι τὰς συνθήκας· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
δικτάτορος ᾑρημένου καὶ μηδενὸς ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου
νόμῳ πρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν ὁμολογηθῆναι.
νυνὶ δὲ χρῆναι λέγειν εἴ τι βούλονται· νόμῳ γὰρ
ἥκειν κύριος γεγονὼς συγγνώμην τε δεομένοις
δοῦναι καὶ δίκην, εἰ μὴ μετανοοῦσιν, ἐπιθεῖναι
4 τοῖς αἰτίοις. πρὸς ταῦτα θορυβηθεὶς ὁ Βρέννος 144
ἥψατο μὲν ἀψιμαχίας, καὶ προῆλθον ἄχρι ξι-
φουλκίας ἑκάτεροι καὶ διωθισμῶν ἀναμεμιγμένοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ
στενωποῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ χωρίοις δέξασθαι
παράταξιν οὐ δυναμένοις. ταχὺ δὲ συμφρονήσας
ὁ Βρέννος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κελτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον οὐ πολλῶν πεσόντων. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναστή-
σας ἅπαντας ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθὼν
ἑξήκοντα σταδίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὴν
5 Γαβινίαν ὁδόν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ παρὴν ὁ Κάμιλλος
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡπλισμένος λαμπρῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότας
ἔχων τότε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς
μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτούς τε τρέπεται
πολλῷ φόνῳ καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν

while he himself, with the flower of his men, pressed on, and presently came to the Romans. These all made way for him, in decorous silence acknowledging him as their dictator. Thereupon he lifted the gold from the scales and gave it to his attendants, and then ordered the Gauls to take their scales and weights and be off, saying that it was the custom with the Romans to deliver their city with iron and not with gold. When Brennus in wrath declared that he was wronged by this breaking of the agreement, Camillus answered that the compact was not legally made nor binding, since he himself had already been chosen dictator and there was no other legal ruler; the agreement of the Gauls had therefore been made with men who had no power in the case. Now, however, they must say what they wanted, for he was come with legal authority to grant pardon to those who asked it, and to inflict punishment on the guilty, unless they showed repentance. At this, Brennus raised a clamour and began a skirmish, in which both sides got no further than drawing their swords and pushing one another confusedly about, since the action took place in the heart of the ruined city, where no battle array was possible. But Brennus soon came to his senses, and led his Gauls off to their camp, with the loss of a few only. During the ensuing night he broke camp and abandoned the city with his whole force, and after a march of about eight miles, encamped along the Gabinian way. At break of day Camillus was upon him, in glittering array, his Romans now full of confidence, and after a long and fierce battle, routed the enemy with great slaughter and took their camp. Of the fugitives, some were at once

δὲ φευγόντων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνῃρέθησαν καταδιωχθέντες, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους διασπαρέντας ἐπεκθέοντες ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων ἔκτεινον.

XXX. Οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη παραλόγως ἥλω καὶ παραλογώτερον ἐσώθη, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένη. παρελθόντες γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῶν Κυϊντιλίων εἰδῶν περὶ τὰς Φεβρουαρίας εἰδοὺς ἐξέπεσον. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐθριάμβευσε μέν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸν ἀπολωλυίας σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενόμενον καὶ
2 κατάγοντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰς ἑαυτήν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἅμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν εἰσελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ συγκατῄεσαν, οἵ τε πολιορκηθέντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μικροῦ δεήσαντες ἀπολέσθαι διὰ λιμόν, ἀπήντων περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ δακρύοντες ὑπὸ[1] τῆς παρούσης ἡδονῆς, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ζάκοροι θεῶν, ὅσα φεύγοντες αὐτόθι τῶν ἀβεβήλων ἔκρυψαν ἢ σὺν αὑτοῖς ἐξέκλεψαν, ἀνασωζόμενα[2] κομίζοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο ποθουμένας ὄψεις τοῖς πολίταις δεχομένοις μετὰ χαρᾶς, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αὖθις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
3 συγκατερχομένων· θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ καθάρας τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγουμένων τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, τὰ μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἱερῶν κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἱδρύσατο νεὼν Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνος, ἀνευρὼν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ νύκτωρ ἡ καταγγέλλουσα τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατιὰν ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ Καιδικίῳ Μάρκῳ φωνὴ προσέπεσε.

[1] ὑπὸ with S: ἀπιστίᾳ *for distrust of.*
[2] ἀνασωζόμενα καὶ κεκοσμημένα S, *and adorned.*

pursued and cut down, but most of them scattered abroad, only to be fallen upon and slain by the people of the surrounding villages and cities.

XXX. So strangely was Rome taken, and more strangely still delivered, after the Barbarians had held it seven months in all. They entered it a few days after the Ides of July, and were driven out about the Ides of February. Camillus celebrated a triumph, as it was meet that a man should do who had saved a country that was lost, and who now brought the city back again to itself. For the citizens outside, with their wives and children, accompanied his triumphal chariot as it entered the city, and those who had been besieged on the Capitol, and had narrowly escaped death by starvation, came forth to meet them, all embracing one another, and weeping for the joy that was theirs. The priests and ministrants of the gods, bringing whatever sacred objects they had either buried on the spot or carried off with them when they took to flight, displayed them, thus preserved in safety, to the citizens, who caught the welcome sights with delight, believing in their hearts that the gods themselves were now coming back to Rome with them. After Camillus had made sacrifices to the gods and purified the city, in the manner prescribed by those who were versed in such rites, he restored the existing temples, and erected a new one to Rumour and Voice,[1] having sought out carefully the spot where by night the voice from Heaven, announcing the coming of the Barbarian host, had fallen upon the ears of Marcus Caedicius.

[1] Ara Aii Locutii.

XXXI. Χαλεπῶς μὲν οὖν καὶ μόλις αἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεκαλύπτοντο χῶραι φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν· ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἔδει παντάπασι διεφθαρμένην, ἀθυμία πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέλλησις ἦν ἐστερημένοις ἁπάντων καί τινος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως ἐκ κακῶν δεομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ κάμνειν καὶ ἀποτρύχειν ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε
2 σώμασιν ἐρρωμένους. οὕτω δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τοὺς Οὐηΐους αὖθις ἀποστρεφόμενοι, πόλιν ἅπασι κατεσκευασμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἀρχὰς δημαγωγιῶν ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς πρὸς χάριν εἰθισμένοις ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο στασιαστικῶν πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον, ὡς ἐκείνου φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ δόξης ἰδίας ἀποστεροῦντος αὐτοὺς πόλεως ἑτοίμης καὶ βιαζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια καὶ πυρκαϊὰν τοσαύτην ἐγείρειν, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἡγεμὼν Ῥώμης καὶ στρατηγός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης λέγηται παρώσας Ῥωμύλον.

3 Ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεῖσα τὸν θόρυβον ἡ βουλὴ τὸν μὲν Κάμιλλον οὐκ εἴασε βουλόμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ καίπερ ἓξ μῆνας οὐδενὸς ὑπερβαλόντος ἑτέρου δικτάτορος, αὐτὴ δὲ παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ κατεπράϋνε πείθουσα καὶ δεξιουμένη τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνυμένη μὲν ἠρία καὶ τάφους πατέρων, ὑπομιμνήσκουσα δὲ χωρίων ἱερῶν καὶ τόπων ἁγίων, οὓς Ῥωμύλος ἢ Νομᾶς ἤ τις ἄλλος αὐτοῖς τῶν

XXXI. Owing to the zeal of Camillus and the abundant labours of the priesthood, the sites of the temples were at last uncovered, but it proved a grievous undertaking. And since the city had also to be built up again from a state of utter destruction, the multitude were overwhelmed with despair of the task, and shrank from it. They were bereft of all things, and for the present needed some rest and repose after their sufferings, instead of toiling and wearing themselves out on a task for which they had neither means nor strength. And so it was that insensibly their thoughts turned again to Veii, a city which remained intact and was equipped with all things needful. This gave opportunity for mischievous agitations to such as were wont to consult only the people's will and pleasure, and ready ear was given to seditious speeches against Camillus. He had an eye, it was said, only to his own ambition and fame, when he would deprive them of a city that stood ready to receive them, and force them to pitch their tents among a mass of ruins, while they rebuilt what had become a monstrous funeral pyre. He wished not merely to be a leader and general of Rome, but to thrust Romulus to one side and be styled its founder.

The Senate, therefore, fearful of this clamour, would not suffer Camillus, much as he wished it, to lay down his office within a year, although no other dictator had served more than six months. Meanwhile the Senators, by dint of kindly greetings and persuasive words, tried to soften and convert the people, pointing out the sepulchres and tombs of their fathers, and calling to their remembrance the shrines and holy places which Romulus, or Numa,

4 βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ
τῶν θείων τήν τε νεοσφαγῆ κεφαλὴν προὔφερον 14
ἐν τῇ θεμελιώσει τοῦ Καπιτωλίου φανεῖσαν, ὡς
τῷ τόπῳ πεπρωμένον ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεφαλῇ
γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας πῦρ, ὃ μετὰ τὸν
πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀναπτόμενον αὖθις
ἀφανίζειν καὶ σβεννύναι τοὺς προλιπόντας τὴν
πόλιν, ὄνειδος αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον, ἄν τε ὑπ' ἄλλων
οἰκουμένην ὁρῶσιν ἐπηλύδων καὶ ξένων ἄν τ'
ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ μηλόβοτον.

5 Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ
πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ σχετλιάζοντες ἐπεκλῶντο
πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν παροῦσαν ὀλοφυρο-
μένων ἀμηχανίαν, καὶ δεομένων μὴ σφᾶς ὥσπερ
ἐκ ναυαγίου γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀπόρους σωθέντας
προσβιάζεσθαι τὰ λείψανα τῆς διεφθαρμένης
συμπηγνύναι πόλεως, ἑτέρας ἑτοίμης παρούσης.

XXXII. Ἔδοξεν οὖν βουλὴν προθεῖναι τῷ
Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διεξῆλθε παρα-
καλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος· τέλος δὲ τὸν πρῶτον
εἰωθότα λέγειν γνώμην Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον ἀνα-
στήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφήνασθαι πρῶτον, εἶτα
2 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς καὶ
τοῦ Λουκρητίου μέλλοντος ἐνάρχεσθαι, κατὰ
τύχην ἔξωθεν ἑκατοντάρχης ἄγων τάγμα φυλακῆς
ἡμερινῆς παρεπορεύετο, καὶ τὸν φέροντα πρῶτον
τὸ σημεῖον μεγάλῃ φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἐκέ-
λευσεν αὐτοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τίθεσθαι·

or some other king, had consecrated and left to their care. Among other signs from Heaven, they laid chief stress on the newly severed head that was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, showing, as it did, that the place where it was found was fated to be the head of Italy; also on the sacred fire of Vesta, which had been kindled anew by her virgins after the war. If they should quench and extinguish this again by their abandonment of the city, it would be a disgrace to them, whether they saw that city occupied by immigrants and aliens, or abandoned to flocks and herds.

Thus did the Senators remonstrate with the people, both individually in private, and often in the public assemblies. They, in their turn, were moved to compassion by the wailing complaints of the multitude, who lamented the helplessness to which they were come, and begged, now that they had been saved alive as it were from a shipwreck, in nakedness and destitution, that they be not forced to piece together the fragments of their ruined city, when another stood all ready to receive them.

XXXII. Accordingly, Camillus decided that the question should be debated and settled in council. He himself spoke at great length, in exhortation to preserve their common country, and every one else who wished did likewise. Finally, he called upon Lucius Lucretius, to whom custom gave the first vote, and bade him declare his opinion first, and then the other senators in the order due. Silence fell, and Lucretius was on the point of beginning, when it chanced that a centurion with a squad of the day watch passed by outside, and calling with a loud voice on the man who led with the standard,

κάλλιστα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθεδεῖσθαι καὶ μενεῖν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐννοίᾳ καὶ ἀδηλότητι τῆς φωνῆς γενομένης, ὅ τε Λουκρήτιος ἔφη προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ προστίθεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
3 ἕκαστος ἐπηκολούθησε. θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσχε μεταβολὴ τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἀλλήλους παρακαλούντων καὶ προτρεπομένων[1] πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, οὐκ ἐκ διανομῆς τινος ἢ τάξεως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἑτοιμότητος ἢ βουλήσεως εἶχε τῶν χωρίων καταλαμβανομένων. διὸ καὶ τεταραγμένην τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ συμπεφυρμένην ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν ἀνήγαγον τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ τάχους. ἐντὸς γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῦ λέγεται καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καινὴ καὶ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀναστῆναι πάλιν.

4 Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόπους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὁρίσαι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου, συγκεχυμένων ἁπάντων, ὡς ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τοῦ Ἄρεως περιοδεύοντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μέν, ὡς τὰ ἄλλα, διεφθαρμένην καὶ κατακεκαυμένην εὗρον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, σκευωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαίροντες τὸ χωρίον ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ μαντικῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τέφρας πολλῆς καὶ βαθείας
5 καταδεδυκότι. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπικαμπὲς ἐκ θατέρου πέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτυον· χρῶνται δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλινθίων ὑπογραφὰς ὅταν ἐπ' ὄρνισι διαμαντευόμενοι καθέζωνται, ὡς κἀκεῖνος ἐχρῆτο μαντικώτατος ὤν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, παραλαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ ξύλον ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄψαυστον ἐφύλαττον.

[1] προτρεπομένων with S : τρεπομένων.

bade him halt and plant his standard there, for that was the best place to settle down and stay in. The utterance fell at the crisis of their anxious thought for the uncertain future, and Lucretius said, with a devout obeisance, that he cast his vote with the god. The rest, one by one, followed his example. Then the inclinations of the multitude were marvellously changed. They exhorted and incited one another to the work, and pitched upon their several sites, not by any orderly assignment, but as each man found it convenient and desirable. Therefore the city was rebuilt with confused and narrow streets and a maze of houses, owing to their haste and speed. Within a year's time, it is said, a new city had arisen, with walls to guard it and homes in which to dwell.

Those who had been deputed by Camillus to recover and mark out anew the sacred places, found them all in utter confusion. When they came to the shrine of Mars, in their circuit of the Palatium, they found that it had been demolished and burnt by the Barbarians, like the rest, but as they were clearing away and renovating the place, they came upon the augural staff of Romulus, buried deep in a great heap of ashes. The augural staff is curved at one end, and is called *lituus*. It is used to mark off the different quarters of the heavens, in the ceremonies of divination by the flight of birds, and so Romulus had used this one, for he was a great diviner. But when he vanished from among men, the priests took this staff and kept it inviolate, like

τοῦτο δὴ τότε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες διαπεφευγὸς τὴν φθορὰν ἡδίους ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς ἀΐδιον αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ σημείου βεβαιοῦντος.

XXXIII. Οὔπω δὲ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πεπαυμένοις ἀσχολίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτει πόλεμος, Αἰκανῶν μὲν ἅμα καὶ Οὐολούσκων καὶ Λατίνων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλλόντων, Τυρρηνῶν δὲ πολιορκούντων Σούτριν, συμμαχίδα Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες χιλίαρχοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν
2 ἀποδείκνυται τὸ τρίτον Κάμιλλος δικτάτωρ. περὶ τούτου τοῦ πολέμου διττοὶ λόγοι λέγονται· δίειμι δὲ τὸν μυθώδη πρότερον.

Φασὶ τοὺς Λατίνους, εἴτε προφάσει χρωμένους εἴτε βουλομένους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναμίξασθαι τὰ γένη πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, πέμψαντας αἰτεῖν παρὰ 14
τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας. ἀπορούντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον ὠρρώδουν οὔπω καθεστῶτες οὐδ' ἀνειληφότες αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν αἴτησιν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπώπτευον ἐξομήρευσιν εἶναι, τοῦ δ' εὐπρεποῦς χάριν ἐπιγαμίαν καλεῖσθαι), θεραπαινίδα
3 τοὔνομα Τουτούλαν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Φιλωτίδα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παραινέσαι πέμπειν σὺν αὐτῇ τῶν δμωΐδων τὰς ἐν ὥρᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐλευθερίους, κοσμήσαντας ὡς νύμφας εὐγενεῖς, τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτῇ μελήσειν. πεισθέντας δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιλέξασθαι τῶν θεραπαινίδων ὅσας ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ κοσμήσαν-

any other sacred object. Their finding this at that time unscathed, when all the rest had perished, gave them more pleasing hopes for Rome. They thought it a token that assured her of everlasting safety.

XXXIII. They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians, and Latins burst into their territory all at once, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mount Marcius, were besieged by the Latins, and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid, and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war, and I will give the fabulous one first.

They say that the Latins, either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples, sent and demanded from the Romans free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do, for they dreaded war in their unsettled and unrestored condition, and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a serving-maid named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send her to the enemy with some maid-servants of the comeliest sort and most genteel appearance, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose out as many maid-servants as she thought meet

τας ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λατίνοις
οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύουσι.
4 νύκτωρ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὑφελέσθαι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια
τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν δ' εἴτε Τουτούλαν εἴτε Φιλω-
τίδα προσβᾶσαν ἐρινεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ παρατείνα-
σαν ὀπίσω τὸ ἱμάτιον ἆραι πυρσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
ὥσπερ ἦν συγκείμενον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν εἰδότος. δι' ὃ καὶ
θορυβώδη γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔξοδον,
ὡς κατήπειγον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλήλους ἀνακαλούν-
των καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν τάξιν καθισταμένων. ἐπελ-
θόντας δὲ τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων οὐ προσδεχο-
μένων καὶ καθευδόντων ἑλεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ
5 διαφθεῖραι τοὺς πλείστους. τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ταῖς
νῦν Ἰουλίαις, τότε δὲ Κυϊντιλίαις νώναις, καὶ τὴν
ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν ὑπόμνημα τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης
εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξιόντες ἀθρόοι διὰ τῆς
πύλης πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ κοινῶν ὀνομά-
των βοῇ φθέγγονται, Γάϊον, Μάρκον, Λούκιον
καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε
γενομένην μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλων ἀνάκλησιν·
6 ἔπειτα κεκοσμημέναι λαμπρῶς αἱ θεραπαινίδες
περιΐασι παίζουσαι διὰ σκωμμάτων εἰς τοὺς
ἀπαντῶντας. γίνεται δὲ καὶ μάχη τις αὐταῖς πρὸς
ἀλλήλας, ὡς καὶ τότε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους
ἀγῶνος συνεπιλαμβανομέναις. ἑστιώμεναι δὲ
καθέζονται κλάδοις συκῆς σκιαζόμεναι· καὶ τὴν
ἡμέραν νώνας Καπρατίνας καλοῦσιν, ὡς οἴονται
διὰ τὸν ἐρινεόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν παιδίσκην τὸν πυρσὸν
ἆραι· τὸν γὰρ ἐρινεὸν καπρίφικον ὀνομάζουσιν.
7 Ἕτεροι δὲ τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα δρᾶσθαι καὶ
λέγεσθαί φασιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πάθει·

for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold, and handed them over to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy's swords, while Tutula, or Philotis, climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her, held out a lighted torch towards Rome, this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously, as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the entrenchments of the enemy, who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp, and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis, now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For, to begin with, they run out of the city gate in throngs, calling out loudly many local and common names, such as Gaius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like, in imitation of the way the soldiers once called aloud upon each other in their haste. Next, the maid-servants, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle, too, with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast, they sit in the shade of a fig-tree's branches. The day is called the "Capratine Nones," from the wild fig-tree, as they suppose, from which the maid held forth her torch; this goes by the name of *caprificus*.

But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus.

κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἔξω πύλης, ζόφου καὶ θυέλλης ἄφνω περισχούσης, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου γενομένης, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου νώνας Καπρατίνας κληθῆναι, τὴν γὰρ αἶγα κάπραν ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἠφανίσθη δημηγορῶν περὶ τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἕλος προσαγορευόμενον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXXIV. Τὸν δ' ἕτερον λόγον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων δοκιμάζοντες οὕτω λέγουσιν. ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ τὸ τρίτον ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων στράτευμα πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν πολι-
2 τῶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παρηβηκότας καθοπλίσαι. περιελθὼν δὲ μακρὰν περίοδον περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἵδρυσε τὴν στρατιὰν κατόπιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ καύσας διεσήμηνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορκούμενοι θαρρήσαντες ἐπιέναι διενοοῦντο καὶ
3 μάχην συνάπτειν· οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι συστείλαντες εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεσταύρουν ξύλοις πολλοῖς καὶ διεφράγνυντο πανταχόθεν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιμένειν ἐγνωκότες ἑτέραν οἴκοθεν δύναμιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν προσδεχόμενοι βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' αἰσθόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ δεδοικὼς παθεῖν ὅπερ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς τοὺς πολε- 1
μίους κυκλωσάμενος ἔσπευδε προλαβεῖν τὸν
4 καιρόν. ὄντος δὲ τοῦ περιφράγματος ξυλίνου καὶ πνεύματος μεγάλου κατιόντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἅμα

For on this same day he vanished from sight, outside the city gates, in sudden darkness and tempest, and, as some think, during an eclipse of the sun. The day, they say, is called the "Capratine Nones" from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of *capra*, and Romulus vanished from sight while haranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat's Marsh, as has been stated in his *Life*.[1]

XXXIV. But most writers adopt the other account of this war, which runs thus. Camillus, having been appointed dictator for the third time, and learning that the army under the military tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volscians, was forced to put under arms even those of the citizens who were exempt from military duty by reason of advancing years. Fetching a long circuit around Mount Marcius and thus eluding the enemy's notice, he planted his army securely in their rear, and then by lighting many fires made known his presence there. The besieged Romans at once took heart and purposed to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians retired within their trenches, fenced themselves in with a great wooden palisade, and barricaded their camp on all sides, for they now had a hostile force in front and rear, and were determined to await reinforcements from home. At the same time they expected aid from the Tuscans also. Camillus, perceiving their design, and fearful of being himself surrounded by the enemy as he had surrounded them, made haste to improve his opportunity. The enemy's barricades were of wood, and a strong wind

[1] Chap. xxvii.

φάει, πυροβόλα[1] παρασκευασάμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι βέλεσι καὶ κραυγῇ καθ' ἕτερον μέρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχων ὅθεν εἰώθει μάλιστα προσπίπτειν ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέμενε τὴν ὥραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεστώσης τῆς μάχης ὅ τε ἥλιος ἀνῄει καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐξέπιπτε, σημήνας ἐπιδρομὴν κατέσπειρε τοῦ χάρακος ἄφθονα τῶν πυροβόλων. 5 ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἐν ὕλῃ πυκνῇ καὶ σταυρώμασι ξυλίνοις ἀνατραφείσης καὶ κύκλῳ περινεμομένης, οὐδὲν ἄκος οὐδὲ σβεστήριον ἔχοντες οἱ Λατῖνοι παρεσκευασμένον, ὡς πλῆρες ἦν ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον πυρός, ἐπ' ὀλίγον συστελλόμενοι τόπον ἐξέπιπτον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης πρὸς ὡπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντας διέφθειρε τὸ πῦρ, μέχρι οὗ κατασβέσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

XXXV. Γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν υἱὸν Λεύκιον φύλακα τῶν ἡλωκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημάτων αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν πόλιν ἐξελὼν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος τοὺς Οὐολούσκους εὐθὺς ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὸ Σούτριον, οὔπω τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῖς Σουτρίνοις πεπυσμένος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι κινδυνεύουσι καὶ πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρ- 2 ρηνῶν βοηθῆσαι σπεύδων. οἱ δ' ἔτυχον ἤδη τὴν μὲν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδεδωκότες, αὐτοὶ

[1] πυροβόλα conjecture of Sintenis[2]; πυρὰ πολλὰ MSS., Sintenis[1], and edd.

blew down from the mountains at sun-rise. Accordingly, he equipped himself with fiery darts, and leading his forces out towards day-break, ordered part of them to attack with missiles and loud cries at an opposite point, while he himself, with those appointed to hurl fire, took his post where the wind was wont to smite the enemy's trenches with the greatest force, and awaited the propitious moment. When battle had been joined and the sun rose and the wind burst forth with fury, he gave orders for an onset, and scattered no end of fiery darts along the trenches. The flames speedily found food in the crowded timbers of the wooden palisades and spread in all directions. The Latins had nothing at hand with which to ward off or quench them, and when at length their camp was full of fire, they were huddled together into a small space, and at last forced to dash out against an enemy who were drawn up in full battle array in front of the trenches. Few of them made their escape, and those who were left behind in the camp were all a prey to the fire until the Romans put it out and fell upon their booty.

XXXV. This business dispatched, he left his son Lucius in command of the camp to guard the captives and the booty, while he himself invaded the enemy's country. He captured the city of the Aequians, brought the Volscians to terms, and straightway led his army towards Sutrium. He was not yet apprised of the fate of the Sutrians, but thought they were still in peril of siege by the Tuscans, and so hastened to relieve them. But they had already surrendered their city to the enemy, and been sent off in utter

δὲ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ἐν ἱματίοις μόνον ἀφειμένοι· καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντι τῷ Καμίλλῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπήντων ὀδυρόμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν τύχας. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος αὐτός τε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλασθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶν ἐμφυομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Σουτρίνων δακρύοντας καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἔγνω μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τῆς
3 τιμωρίας ἀναβολήν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ Σούτριον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, λογιζόμενος ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσίαν πόλιν ἄρτι κατειληφότας καὶ μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολελοιπότας ἐν αὐτῇ μηδὲ προσδεχομένους ἔξωθεν, ἐκλελυμένους παντάπασι καὶ ἀφυλάκτους εὑρήσειν· ὀρθῶς λογισάμενος. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν χώραν ἔλαθε διελθών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλαβών· ἐφύλαττε γὰρ οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ συνουσίαις ἦσαν ἐσκεδασμένοι κατὰ
4 τὰς οἰκίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κρατοῦντας ἤδη, οὕτω διέκειντο μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς καὶ μέθης, ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμῆσαι πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αἴσχιστα πάντων ὑπομένοντας ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις. τὴν μὲν οὖν Σουτρίνων πόλιν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δὶς ἁλοῦσαν οὕτω συνέβη καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀφῃρημένους ἀπολαβεῖν διὰ Κάμιλλον.

XXXVI. Ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων θρίαμβος αὐτῷ χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττονα καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε τῶν πρώτων δυεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πάνυ βασκαίνοντας τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πάντα βουλομένους εὐτυχίᾳ

destitution, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As Camillus came marching along they met him, with their wives and children, all lamenting their misfortunes. Camillus himself was filled with compassion at the sight, and noticed that his Romans too, with the Sutrians hanging upon their necks in supplication, were moved to tears and anger at their lot. He therefore determined to make no postponement of his vengeance, but to march straight upon Sutrium that very day. He reasoned that men who had just taken a prosperous and opulent city, leaving none of their enemies in it, and expecting none from without, would be found wholly relaxed in discipline and off their guard; and he reasoned correctly. He not only passed unnoticed through the city's territory, but was actually at its gates and in command of its walls before the enemy knew it. For not a man of them was on guard, but they were all scattered among the houses of the city drinking and feasting. And even when they perceived that their enemies already had the mastery, they were so sluggishly disposed by reason of satiety and drunkenness that many did not so much as try to flee, but awaited there in the houses the most shameful of all deaths, or gave themselves up to their enemies. The city of Sutrium was thus twice captured in a single day, and it came to pass that those who had won it, lost it, and those who had first lost it, won it back, and all by reason of Camillus.

XXXVI. The triumph decreed him for these victories brought him no less favour and renown than his first two had done, and those citizens who had been most envious of him and preferred to ascribe all his successes to an unbounded good fortune rather

τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν κατωρθῶσθαι, τότ'
ἠνάγκαζον αἱ πράξεις τῇ δεινότητι καὶ τῷ δρα-
2 στηρίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδιδόναι τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ
τῶν διαμαχομένων αὐτῷ καὶ προσφθονούντων
ἐπιφανέστατος Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ὁ πρῶτος
ὠσάμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ὅτε τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ νυκτὸς[1] ἐπέθεντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
Καπιτωλῖνος ἐπικληθείς. οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιῶν πρῶ-
τος εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν
Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τρόπου τῇ δόξῃ
3 παρελθεῖν, ὑπόθεσιν τυραννίδος ἐποιήσατο κοινὴν 14
καὶ συνήθη, δημαγωγῶν τοὺς πολλούς, μάλιστα
δὲ τῶν ὀφειλόντων χρέα τοῖς μὲν ἀμύνων καὶ
συνδικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς δανειστάς, τοὺς δ' ἀφαιρού-
μενος βίᾳ καὶ κωλύων ἄγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον,
ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων ταχὺ περὶ αὐτὸν
γενέσθαι καὶ πολὺν φόβον παρασχεῖν τοῖς
βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν θρασυνομένους καὶ
4 ταράττοντας τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταθεὶς
ἐπὶ ταῦτα δικτάτωρ Κούιντος Καπιτωλῖνος εἰς
τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μάλλιον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
γενομένου τούτου μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, πρᾶγμα
γινόμενον ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις καὶ δημοσίαις,
δείσασα τὸν θόρυβον ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκέλευσεν
ἀφεθῆναι τὸν Μάλλιον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἧν ἀφεθεὶς
ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ σοβαρώτερον ἐδημαγώγει καὶ
διεστασίαζε τὴν πόλιν. αἱροῦνται δὴ πάλιν
χιλίαρχον τὸν Κάμιλλον.
5 Εἰσαγομένων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Μαλλίου
δικῶν μεγάλα τοὺς κατηγόρους ἔβλαπτεν ἡ
ὄψις. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐφ' οὗ βεβηκὼς ὁ Μάλλιος

[1] νυκτὸς with S : διὰ νυκτὸς.

than to a native valour, were forced by these new exploits to set the man's glory to the credit of his ability and energy. Now of all those who fought him with hatred and envy, the most conspicuous was Marcus Manlius, the man who first thrust the Gauls down the cliff when they made their night attack upon the Capitol, and for this reason had been surnamed Capitolinus. This man aspired to be chief in the city, and since he could not in the fairest way outstrip Camillus in the race for glory, he had recourse to the wonted and usual arts of those that would found a tyranny. He courted, that is, the favour of the multitude, especially of the debtor class, defending some and pleading their causes against their creditors; snatching others from arrest and preventing their trial by process of law. In this way great numbers of indigent folk soon formed a party about him, and their bold and riotous conduct in the forum gave the best citizens much to fear. To quell their disorder, Quintus Capitolinus was made dictator, and he cast Manlius into prison. Thereupon the people put on the garb of mourners, a thing done only in times of great public calamity, and the Senate, cowed by the tumult, ordered that Manlius be released. He, however, when released, did not mend his ways, but grew more defiantly seditious, and filled the whole city with faction. Accordingly, Camillus was again made military tribune.

When Manlius was brought to trial, the view from the place was a great obstacle in the way of his accusers. For the spot where Manlius had stood

ἐνυκτομάχησε πρὸς τοὺς Κελτούς, ὑπερεφαίνετο τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ παρεῖχεν οἶκτον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν· αὐτός τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων ἐκεῖσε καὶ δακρύων ὑπεμίμνησκε τῶν ἀγώνων, ὥστε τοὺς κρίνοντας ἀπορεῖν καὶ πολλάκις ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν δίκην, μήτ' ἀφεῖναι βουλομένους ἐπὶ τεκμηρίοις φανεροῖς τὸ ἀδίκημα μήτε χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ δυναμένους ἐν ὀφθαλ-
6 μοῖς τῆς πράξεως οὔσης διὰ τὸν τόπον. ὃ δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Κάμιλλος μετήγαγεν ἔξω πύλης τὸ δικαστήριον εἰς τὸ Πετηλῖνον ἄλσος· ὅθεν οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταφανοῦς ὅ τε διώκων ἐχρήσατο τῇ κατηγορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι παρεχώρησεν ἡ μνήμη τῶν γεγονότων ἀξίαν ἀναλα-
7 βεῖν[1] ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀδικήμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάλλιος ἁλοὺς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπήχθη, καὶ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ὠσθεὶς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἔσχε καὶ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων ἔργων καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων μνημεῖον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαντες ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο θεᾶς, ἣν Μονῆταν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας κατοικεῖν.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ χιλιαρχίαν ἕκτην καλούμενος παρῃτεῖτο, γεγονὼς μὲν ἡλικίας ἤδη πρόσω καί πού τινα καὶ φθόνον δεδιὼς καὶ νέμεσιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασιν· ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτη τῶν αἰτιῶν ἦν ἀρρωστία σώματος· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ νοσῶν περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας.
2 οὐ μὴν παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἀναλαβεῖν with S: λαβεῖν.

when he fought his night battle with the Gauls, overlooked the forum from the Capitol, and moved the hearts of the spectators to pity. Manlius himself, too, stretched out his hands toward the spot, and wept as he called to men's remembrance his famous struggle there, so that the judges knew not what to do, and once and again postponed the case. They were unwilling to acquit the prisoner of his crime when the proofs of it were so plain; and they were unable to execute the law upon him when, owing to the place of trial, his saving exploit was, so to speak, in every eye. So Camillus, sensible of all this, transferred the court outside the city to the Peteline Grove, whence there is no view of the Capitol. There the prosecutor made his indictment, and the judges were able to forget the man's past services in their righteous anger at his present crimes. So then Manlius was convicted, carried to the Capitol, and thrust down the rock, thus making one and the same spot a monument of his most fortunate actions and of his greatest misfortunes. The Romans, besides, razed his house to the ground, and built there a temple to the goddess they call Moneta. They decreed also that in future no patrician should ever have a house on the Capitoline hill.

XXXVII. Camillus, called now to be military tribune for the sixth time, declined the honour, being already well on in years, and fearful perhaps of the envy of men and the resentment of the gods which often follows upon such glorious successes as his. But the most manifest reason was his bodily weakness, for it chanced that in those days he was sick. The people, however, would not relieve him of the

βοῶν μήτε ἱππεύοντος αὐτοῦ μήτε ὁπλομαχοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δεῖσθαι, βουλευομένου δὲ μόνον καὶ προστάττοντος, ἠνάγκασεν ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ μεθ' ἑνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων Λευκίου Φουρίου τὸν στρατὸν ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Πραινεστῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν συμμα-
3 χίδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦντες. ἐξελθὼν δὲ καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸς μὲν ἠξίου τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον χρόνῳ, κἂν εἰ μάχης ἐδεήσειε ῥώσας τὸ σῶμα διαγωνίσασθαι, Λευκίου δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιθυμίᾳ δόξης φερομένου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀκατασχέτως καὶ συνεξορμῶντος ἅμα ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγούς, φοβηθεὶς μὴ φθόνῳ δή τινι δοκῇ κατόρθωμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νέων ἀνδρῶν συνεχώρησεν ἄκων ἐκείνῳ παρατάξαι τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθη μετ' ὀλίγων ἐν τῷ
4 στρατοπέδῳ. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου προπετῶς χρησαμένου τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σφαλέντος, αἰσθόμενος τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναθορὼν ἐκ τῆς στιβάδος ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν ὀπαδῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος, διὰ τῶν φευ- 14
γόντων ὠθούμενος εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναστρέφειν καὶ συνακολουθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ προσφερομένους ἔξωθεν ἵστασθαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνασπίζειν, παρεγγυῶντας ἀλλήλοις μὴ
5 ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπετράποντο τῆς διώξεως οἱ πολέμιοι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος

office. He had no need, they cried, to fight in the ranks of the cavalry or the men-at-arms, but only to counsel and ordain; and so they forced him to undertake the command, and with one of his colleagues, Lucius Furius, to lead the army at once against the enemy. These were the Praenestines and Volscians, who, with a large force, were laying waste the lands of the Roman allies. Marching forth, therefore, and encamping near the enemy, he himself thought it best to protract the war, that so, in case a battle should at last be necessary, he might be strong of body for the decisive struggle. But Lucius, his colleague, carried away by his desire for glory, would not be checked in his ardour for battle, and incited the same feelings in the inferior officers of the army. So Camillus, fearing lest it be thought that out of petty jealousy he was trying to rob younger men of the successes to which they eagerly aspired, consented, with reluctance, that Lucius should lead the forces out to battle, while he himself, on account of his sickness, was left behind in the camp with a few followers. Lucius conducted the battle rashly and was discomfited, whereupon Camillus, perceiving the rout of the Romans, could not restrain himself, but sprang up from his couch and ran with his attendants to the gate of the camp. Through the fugitives he pushed his way to their pursuers. Those of his men who had passed him into the camp, wheeled about at once and followed him, and those who came bearing down on him from outside, halted and formed their lines about him, exhorting one another not to abandon their general. In this way, for that day, the enemy were turned back from their pursuit. On the next day, Camillus

καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτούς τε νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν χάρακα λαμβάνει συνεισπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ διαφθείρας τοὺς πλείστους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθόμενος πόλιν Σατρίαν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἑαλωκέναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀπεσφάχθαι Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ὄντας, τὴν μὲν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας μάλιστα καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἐπέβαλε τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλασεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXXVIII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέδειξε φρονιμωτάτους ἁπάντων τοὺς μὴ φοβηθέντας ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ἡγεμόνος ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἑλομένους ἐκεῖνον ἄκοντα καὶ νοσοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς δεομένους καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἄρχειν. διὸ καὶ Τουσκλανῶν ἀφεστάναι λεγομένων ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
2 ἕνα τῶν πέντε συστρατήγων προσελόμενον. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἁπάντων βουλομένων καὶ δεομένων, ἐάσας τοὺς ἄλλους, προσείλετο Λεύκιον Φούριον οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Καμίλλου διαγωνίσασθαι προθυμηθεὶς ἔναγχος καὶ δυστυχήσας περὶ τὴν μάχην· ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ
3 ἀνδρὸς ἀντὶ πάντων τοῦτον προῆγεν. οἱ δὲ Τουσκλανοὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπανορθούμενοι πανούργως, ἤδη βαδίζοντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Καμίλλου τὸ μὲν πεδίον ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεωργούντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐνέπλησαν, τὰς δὲ πύλας εἶχον

led his forces out, joined battle with the enemy, defeated them utterly, and took their camp, actually bursting into it along with those who fled to it, and slaying most of them. After this, learning that the city of Satricum had been taken by the Tuscans, and its inhabitants, all Romans, put to the sword, he sent back to Rome the main body of his army, comprising the men-at-arms, while he himself, with the youngest and most ardent of his men, fell suddenly upon the Tuscans who held the city and mastered them, expelling some and slaying the rest.

XXXVIII. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having proved that those citizens were the most sensible of all who did not fear the bodily age and weakness of a leader possessed of experience and courage, but chose him out, though he was ill and did not wish it, rather than younger men who craved and solicited the command. They showed the same good sense, when the Tusculans were reported to be on the brink of a revolt, in ordering Camillus to select one of his five colleagues as an aid, and march out against them. Although all the five wished and begged to be taken, Camillus passed the rest by and selected Lucius Furius, to everyone's surprise. For he was the man who had just now been eager to hazard a struggle with the enemy against the judgment of Camillus, and had been worsted in the battle. But Camillus wished, as it would seem, to hide away the misfortune and wipe away the disgrace of the man, and so preferred him above all the rest. But the Tusculans, when once Camillus was on the march against them, set to rectifying their transgression as craftily as they could. Their fields were found full of men tilling the soil and pasturing flocks, as in

ἀνεῳγμένας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις μανθάνοντας, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ μὲν βάναυσον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἑωρᾶτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας, τὸ δ' ἀστεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἱματίοις· οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες περιῄεσαν σπουδῇ καταλύσεις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαγγέλλοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν προσδοκῶντες
4 οὐδὲ συνειδότες. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀπιστεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπῄει τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν προδοσίαν, οἰκτείρας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐλθόντας παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· καὶ παραιτουμένοις συνέπραξεν αὐτὸς ἀφεθῆναί τε τὴν πόλιν αἰτίας ἁπάσης καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἰσοπολιτείας. αὗται μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἕκτης χιλιαρχίας ἐπιφανέσταται πράξεις.

XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λικιννίου Στόλωνος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν μεγάλην στάσιν ἐγείροντος, ἣν ὁ δῆμος ἐστασίαζε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βιαζόμενος δυεῖν ὑπάτων καθισταμένων τὸν ἕτερον πάντως ἐκ δημοτῶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ συναμφοτέρους πατρικίους, δήμαρχοι μὲν ᾑρέθησαν, τὰς δ' ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι διεκώλυσαν οἱ πολλοί.
2 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δι' ἀναρχίας φερομένων ἐς μείζονας ταραχὰς ἀποδείκνυται δικτάτωρ ὁ Κάμιλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ τὸ τέταρτον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὢν πρόθυμος οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίαν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς πλείονα μετ' αὐτῶν[1] διαπεπραγμένος ἐν στρατηγίαις ἢ μετὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν πολιτείαις, καὶ

[1] μετ' αὐτῶν διαπεπραγμένος edd., including Sintenis[1], and S; ἐν στρατηγίαις μετ' αὐτῶν with C.

times of peace; their gates lay wide open; their boys were at school conning their lessons; and of the people, the artizans were to be seen in their workshops plying their trades, the men of leisure sauntered over the forum clad in their usual garb, while the magistrates bustled about assigning quarters for the Romans, as though they expected and were conscious of no evil. Their performances did not bring Camillus into any doubt of their intended treachery, but out of pity for the repentance that followed so close upon their treachery, he ordered them to go to the Senate and beg for a remission of its wrath. He himself also helped to make their prayers effectual, so that their city was absolved from all charges and received the rights of Roman citizenship. Such were the most conspicuous achievements of his sixth tribuneship.

XXXIX. After this, Licinius Stolo stirred up the great dissension in the city which brought the people into collision with the Senate. The people insisted that, when two consuls were appointed, one of them must certainly be a plebeian, and not both patricians. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the multitude prevented the consular elections from being duly held. Owing to this lack of magistrates, matters were getting more and more confused, and so Camillus was for the fourth time appointed dictator by the Senate, though much against the wishes of the people. He was not eager for the office himself, nor did he wish to oppose men whose many and great struggles gave them the right to say boldly to him: "Your achievements have been in the field with us, rather than in politics with the patricians;

νῦν διὰ φθόνον ἐκείνων ᾑρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως
ἢ καταλύσειε τὸν δῆμον ἰσχύσας ἢ καταλυθείη
3 μὴ κρατήσας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος ἀμύνειν
τοῖς παροῦσι, τὴν ἡμέραν γνούς, ἐν ᾗ νομοθετεῖν 1
οἱ δήμαρχοι διενοοῦντο, προέγραψε στρατιᾶς κα-
τάλογον καὶ μετεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
εἰς τὸ πεδίον μεγάλας ζημίας ἀπειλῶν κατὰ τοῦ
4 μὴ ὑπακούσαντος. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων ἐκεῖθεν αὖ
πάλιν ἀντανισταμένων ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ διομνυ-
μένων πέντε μυριάσιν ἀργυρίου ζημιώσειν, εἰ μὴ
παύσαιτο τοῦ δήμου τὸν νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοις καὶ
τὴν ψῆφον, εἴτε δείσας φυγὴν ἑτέραν καὶ κατα-
δίκην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ κατειργασμένῳ
μεγάλα μὴ πρέπουσαν, εἴτε τοῦ δήμου τὴν βίαν
ἄμαχον οὖσαν καὶ δυσνίκητον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μὴ
δυνάμενος μηδὲ βουλόμενος, τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρησεν
οἴκαδε· ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέραις σκηψάμενος ἀρ-
ρωστεῖν ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν.
5 Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἕτερον δικτάτορα κατέστησε·
κἀκεῖνος ἀποδείξας ἵππαρχον αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
τῆς στάσεως Στόλωνα παρῆκεν ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν
νόμον τὸν μάλιστα λυποῦντα τοὺς πατρικίους.
ἐκέλευσε δ' οὗτος μηδένα πλέθρων πεντακοσίων
πλείονα χώραν κεκτῆσθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν λαμπρὸς
ὁ Στόλων ἐγεγόνει τῇ ψήφῳ κρατήσας· ὀλίγῳ δ'
ὕστερον αὐτὸς ἑάλω κεκτημένος ὅσην ἔχειν ἐκώ-
λυεν ἑτέρους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὑτοῦ νόμον δίκην
ἔδωκεν.

XL. Ὑπολειπομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν
ἀρχαιρεσιῶν φιλονεικίας, ὃ δὴ χαλεπώτατον τῆς
στάσεως ἦν καὶ πρῶτον ἦρξε καὶ πλεῖστα

it is through hate and envy that they have now made you dictator; they hope that you will crush the people if you prevail, or be crushed yourself if you fail." However, he tried to ward off the threatening evils. Having learned the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he issued proclamation making it a day of general muster, and summoned the people from the forum into the Campus Martius, with threats of heavy fines upon the disobedient. The tribunes, on the contrary, for their part, opposed his threats with solemn oaths that they would fine him fifty thousand silver drachmas if he did not cease trying to rob the people of its vote and its law. Then, either because he feared a second condemnation to exile, a penalty unbecoming to a man of his years and achievements, or because he was not able, if he wished, to overcome the might of the people which was now become resistless and invincible, he withdrew to his house, and after alleging sickness for several days, resigned his office.

But the Senate appointed another dictator, and he, after making Stolo himself, the very leader of the sedition, his master of horse, suffered the law to be enacted. It was a most vexatious law for the patrician, for it prohibited anyone from owning more than five hundred acres of land. At that time, then, Stolo was a resplendent figure, owing to his victory at the polls; but a little while after, he himself was found to be possessed of what he forbade others to own, and so paid the penalty fixed by his own law.

XL. There remained, however, the strife over the consular elections, which was the main problem in the dissensions, as it was its first cause, and gave

πράγματα τῇ βουλῇ παρέσχε διαφερομένῃ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀγγελίαι προσέπεσον σαφεῖς, Κελτοὺς αὖθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύ-
2 νειν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου παρῆν πορθουμένης τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοις μὴ ῥᾴδιον ἦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καταφυγεῖν, ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη σκεδαννυμένων. οὗτος ὁ φόβος κατέπαυσε τὴν στάσιν, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ δημοτικὸν εἵλοντο πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης δι-
3 κτάτορα τὸ πέμπτον Κάμιλλον. ὁ δ' ἦν μὲν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονέναι· συνορῶν δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, οὔτε ὑποτίμησιν εἰπών, ὡς πρότερον, οὔτε προφάσει χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὑποστὰς τὴν στρατηγίαν κατέλεγε τοὺς μαχησομένους.

Εἰδὼς δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀλκῆς τὴν βιαιοτάτην ἐν ταῖς μαχαίραις οὖσαν, ἃς βαρβαρικῶς καὶ σὺν οὐδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ καταφέροντες ὤμους
4 μάλιστα καὶ κεφαλὰς διέκοπτον, ἐχαλκεύσατο μὲν κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὁλοσίδηρα καὶ λεῖα ταῖς περιφερείαις, ὡς ἀπολισθαίνειν ἢ κατάγνυσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς κύκλῳ περιήρμοσε λεπίδα χαλκῆν, τοῦ ξύλου καθ' αὑτὸ τὰς πληγὰς μὴ στέγοντος· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδαξε τοῖς ὑσσοῖς μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑποβάλλοντας ἐκδέχεσθαι τὰς καταφοράς.

XLI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν οἱ Κελτοί, περὶ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν στρατόπεδον βαρὺ καὶ

the Senate most concern in its contention with the people. But suddenly clear tidings came that the Gauls had once more set out from the Adriatic Sea, many myriads strong, and were marching on Rome. With the word, the actual deeds of war kept pace. The country was ravaged, and its population, all who could not more easily fly to Rome for refuge, scattered among the mountains. This terror put an end to the dissension in the city, and brought together into conference both the rich and the poor, the Senate and the people. All with one mind chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time. He was now quite old, lacking little of eighty years; but recognizing the peril and the necessity which it laid upon him, he neither made excuse, as before, nor resorted to pretext, but instantly took upon him the command and went to levying his soldiers.

Knowing that the prowess of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they plied in true barbaric fashion, and with no skill at all, in mere slashing blows at head and shoulders, he had helmets forged for most of his men which were all iron and smooth of surface, that the enemy's swords might slip off from them or be shattered by them. He also had the long shields of his men rimmed round with bronze, since their wood could not of itself ward off the enemy's blows. The soldiers themselves he trained to use their long javelins like spears,—to thrust them under the enemy's swords and catch the downward strokes upon them.

XLI. When the Gauls were near at hand, being encamped on the Anio and encumbered with untold

μεστὸν ἀφθόνου λείας ἔχοντες, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἵδρυσε κατὰ νάπης μαλακῆς καὶ συγκλίσεις πολλὰς ἐχούσης, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, τὸ δ' ὁρώμενον δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δέους
2 εἰς χωρία προσάντη κατειλεῖσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος αὔξειν βουλόμενος οὐ προσήμυνε τῶν ὑπὸ πόδας πορθουμένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν χάρακα φραξάμενος ἠρέμει, μέχρι οὗ τοὺς μὲν ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους κατεῖδε, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐμπιπλαμένους
3 ἀφειδῶς καὶ μεθύοντας. τότε δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τοὺς ψιλοὺς προεκπέμψας ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ διαταράττειν εὐθὺς ἐπεξιόντας, κατεβίβαζεν ὄρθρου τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ παρέταττεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις, πολλοὺς 151
καὶ προθύμους, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι προσεδόκων, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀτόλμους φανέντας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνέτρεψε τὰ φρονήματα παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι δοκούντων. ἔπειτα προσπίπτοντες οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸν συνήθη λαβεῖν κόσμον καὶ διακριθῆναι κατὰ λόχους κινοῦντες αὐτοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ
4 συντυχὸν ἀτάκτους ἠνάγκασαν μάχεσθαι. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Καμίλλου τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἀνατεινάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμεῖν ἔσπευδον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὑσσοῖς ἀπαντῶντες καὶ τὰ σεσιδηρωμένα μέρη ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑποφέροντες ἀνέστρεφον τὸν ἐκείνων σίδηρον μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ λεπτῶς ἐληλαμένον, ὥστε κάμπτεσθαι ταχὺ καὶ διπλοῦσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς

plunder, Camillus led his forces out and posted them in a gently sloping glade with many hollows, so that the largest part of them were concealed, and the part that could be seen had the look of shutting themselves up in hilly places out of fear. This opinion of them Camillus wished to strengthen, and therefore made no defence of those who were plundered even at his very feet, but fenced in his trenches and lay quiet, until he saw that some of the enemy were scattered abroad in foraging parties, while those in the camp did nothing but gorge themselves with meat and drink. Then, while it was yet night, he sent his light-armed troops forward to hinder the Barbarians from falling into battle-array and throw them into confusion as they issued from their camp. Just before dawn, he led his men-at-arms down into the plain and drew them up in battle-array, many in number and full of spirit, as the Barbarians now saw, not few and timid, as they had expected. To begin with, it was this which shattered the confidence of the Gauls, who thought it beneath them to be attacked first. Then again, the light-armed folk fell upon them, forced them into action before they had taken their usual order and been arrayed in companies, and so compelled them to fight at random and in utter disorder. Finally, when Camillus led his men-at-arms to the attack, the enemy raised their swords on high and rushed for close quarters. But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and

συμπεπάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ὑσσῶν ἐφελ-
5 κομένων. διὸ καὶ μεθιστάμενοι τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἐκείνων συστρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑσσοὺς παραφέρειν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι γυμνουμένους[1] ὁρῶντες ἤδη τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν πολὺς τῶν προτάκτων, φυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πανταχόσε τοῦ πεδίου. τοὺς γὰρ λόφους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προκατειλήφει Κάμιλλος, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἄφρακτον ἔχοντες ᾔδεσαν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἁλωσόμενον.

6 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τρισκαίδεκα γενέσθαι λέγουσι τῆς Ῥώμης ἁλώσεως, καὶ βέβαιον ἐξ αὐτῆς φρόνημα κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐγγενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις σφόδρα δεδοικόσι τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διὰ νόσους καὶ τύχας παραλόγους, οὐ κατὰ κράτος, ὑπ' αὐτῶν νενικημένους. οὕτω δ' οὖν ὁ φόβος ἦν ἰσχυρός, ὥστε θέσθαι νόμον ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς στρατείας χωρὶς ἂν μὴ Γαλατικὸς ᾖ πόλεμος.

XLII. Τῶν μὲν οὖν στρατιωτικῶν ἀγώνων οὗτος ἠγωνίσθη τῷ Καμίλλῳ τελευταῖος. τὴν γὰρ Οὐελιτρανῶν πόλιν εἷλεν ἐν παρέργῳ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας ἀμαχεὶ προσχωρήσασαν αὐτῷ. τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο καὶ χαλεπώτερος[2] πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἰσχυρὸν ἐπανήκοντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐκ δημοτῶν ὕπατον ἀποδεῖξαι παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα νόμον, ἀντιτατταμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οὐκ ἐώσης

[1] γυμνουμένους with S: γυμνοὺς.
[2] καὶ χαλεπώτερος Sintenis[1], now supported by S: χαλεπώτερος.

weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. Therefore they actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands. But the Romans, seeing them thus disarmed, at once took to using their swords, and there was a great slaughter of their foremost ranks, while the rest fled every whither over the plain; the hill tops and high places had been occupied beforehand by Camillus, and they knew that their camp could easily be taken, since, in their overweening confidence, they had neglected to fortify it.

This battle, they say, was fought thirteen years after the capture of Rome, and produced in the Romans a firm feeling of confidence regarding the Gauls. They had mightily feared these Barbarians, who had been conquered by them in the first instance, as they felt, in consequence of sickness and extraordinary misfortunes, rather than of any prowess in their conquerors. At any rate, so great had their terror been that they made a law exempting priests from military service, except in case of a Gallic war.

XLII. This was the last military exploit performed by Camillus, for the capture of Velitrae was a direct sequel of this campaign, and it yielded to him without a struggle. But the greatest of his civil contests yet remained and it was harder to wage it now against a people which had come back flushed with victory, and bent on electing a plebeian consul, contrary to the established law. But the Senate opposed their demands, and would not suffer Camillus to lay aside

ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μετ' ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης ἐξουσίας τῆς ἐκείνου μαχησομένων ἂν
2 βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαθημένου τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ χρηματίζοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπηρέτης πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ σώματι προσῆγεν ὡς ἀπάξων, κραυγὴ δὲ καὶ θόρυβος, οἷος οὔπω, κατέσχε τὴν ἀγοράν, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὠθούντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν δημόσιον, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν κάτωθεν ἕλκειν ἐπικελευομένων, ἀπορούμενος τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐ προήκατο, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον.
3 καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν μεταστραφεὶς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς κατευθῦναι τὰ παρόντα πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος, ὑποσχόμενος ναὸν Ὁμονοίας ἱδρύσασθαι τῆς ταραχῆς καταστάσης.

Μεγάλου δ' ἀγῶνος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ γενομένου πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας γνώμας, ὅμως ἐνίκησεν ἡ μαλακωτέρα καὶ ὑπείκουσα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ διδοῦσα τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλή-
4 θους ἀρχαιρεσιάσαι. ταῦτα δ' ὡς τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνειπόντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, παραχρῆμα μέν, οἷον εἰκός, ἡδόμενοι τῇ βουλῇ διηλλάττοντο καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οἴκαδε κρότῳ καὶ βοῇ προέπεμπον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὁμονοίας ἱερόν, ὥσπερ εὔξατο Κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄποπτον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἱδρύ-
5 σασθαι, ταῖς δὲ καλουμέναις Λατίναις μίαν ἡμέραν προσθέντας ἑορτάζειν τέτταρας, παραυ- 152

his office, thinking that, with the aid of his great power and authority, they could make a better fight in defence of their aristocracy. But once when Camillus was seated in state and despatching public business in the forum, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow, actually laying hands upon him as though to hale him away. All at once such cries and tumult as had never been heard before filled the forum, the friends of Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the multitude below ordering him to drag the dictator away. Camillus, perplexed at the issue, did not renounce his office, but taking the senators with him, marched off to their place of meeting. Before he entered this, turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the confusion was over.

In the Senate there was a great conflict of opposing views, but nevertheless, the milder course prevailed, concession was made to the people, and permission given them to elect one of the consuls from their own body. When the dictator announced this to the people as the will and pleasure of the Senate, at once, as was to be expected, they were delighted to be reconciled with the Senate, and escorted Camillus to his home with loud applause. On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened. They voted also to add a day to the so-called Latin festival, and thereafter to celebrate four days, and that all

τίκα δὲ θύειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας. τῶν δ' ἀρχαιρεσίων βραβευθέντων ὑπὸ Καμίλλου κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Μάρκος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐκ πατρικίων, Λεύκιος δὲ Σέξτιος ἐκ δημοτῶν πρῶτος. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας αἱ Καμίλλου πράξεις ἔσχον.

XLIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ λοιμώδης νόσος ἐμπεσοῦσα τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὄχλον οὐ περιληπτὸν ἀριθμῷ διέφθειρε, τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων τοὺς πλείστους. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κάμιλλος, ἡλικίας μὲν οὕνεκα καὶ βίου τελειότητος, ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὡραῖος, ἀνιάσας δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀποθανόντες.

Romans at once perform sacrifices with garlands on their heads. At the elections held by Camillus, Marcus Aemilius was chosen consul from the patricians, and Lucius Sextus first consul from the plebeians. This was the last public act of Camillus.

XLIII. In the year following, a pestilential sickness visited Rome, carrying off an incalculable number of the common people, and most of the magistrates. Camillus also died at this time, and he was full ripe for death, if any man ever was, considering his years and the completeness of his life; yet his loss grieved the Romans more than that of all those who perished of the plague at this time.

ARISTIDES

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ

I. Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου φυλῆς μὲν ἦν Ἀντιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. περὶ δ' οὐσίας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ συντόνῳ καταβιώσαντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπολιπόντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν
2 χρόνον ἀνεκδότους δι' ἀπορίαν γενομένας· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντιτασσόμενος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει χωρίον Φαληροῖ φησι γινώσκειν Ἀριστείδου γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τέθαπται, καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐπορίας ἓν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν, ἣν ἦρχεν ὁ[1] τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὓς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν
3 ἐξοστρακισμόν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν πενήτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξ οἴκων τε μεγάλων καὶ διὰ γένους ὄγκον ἐπιφθόνων ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρεσθαι· τρίτον δὲ καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οἳ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυντο τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν διασώζοντες·

[1] ἦρχεν ὁ Blass, adopting Sintenis' conjecture: ἦρξε.

ARISTIDES

I. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and to the deme Alopecé. As regards his substance, stories differ, some having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his "Socrates," says he knows of an estate in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides—the one in which he lies buried, and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of Archon *Eponymous*, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property-assessments (these were called *Pentacosiomedimni*, or Five-hundred-bushellers); second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor men, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family prestige, were liable to ostracism; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of Dionysus as offerings for victory some choregic tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: "The tribe

"Ἀντιοχὶς ἐνίκα, Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει, Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε."

4 Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον, ἀσθενέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ὃν πάντες ἄνθρωποι γινώσκουσιν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τραφέντα πολλῇ καὶ βιώσαντα, καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμους ἀνεδέξαντο χορηγίας, ὁ μὲν αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ δὲ παισὶ κυκλίοις χορηγήσας, τούτῳ μὲν Δίωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίου τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντος, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ δὲ τῶν
5 περὶ Πελοπίδαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἄσπονδος πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φίλων δωρεὰς πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀγεννεῖς ἡγούμενοι καὶ ταπεινάς, 31
ὅσαι φιλοτιμίας τινὸς ἀκερδοῦς ἔχονται καὶ λαμπρότητος οὐκ ἀπωθοῦνται.

Παναίτιος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει
6 τὸν Δημήτριον ὁμωνυμίᾳ διεψευσμένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου δύο μόνους Ἀριστείδας χορηγοὺς ἀναγράφεσθαι νικῶντας, ὧν οὐδέτερον εἶναι τῷ Λυσιμάχου τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ξενοφίλου πατρός, τὸν δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ νεώτερον, ὡς ἐλέγχει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην ὄντα γραμματικῆς καὶ προσγεγραμμένος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος, ὃν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς οὐδείς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς συχνοὶ χορῶν διδάσκαλον ἀναγράφουσι.

7 Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Παναιτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον

Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choregus; Archestratus was Poet."

Now this last argument, though it seems very strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas, who, as all men know, was reared and always lived in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took it upon themselves to furnish munificent public performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

However, as regards the tripods, Panaetius tries to show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious *choregi*, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Eucleides,[1] as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

This argument of Panaetius should be more closely

[1] In 403–402 B.C., when Eucleides was Archon *Eponymous*, the Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens.

ὅπως ἔχει. τῷ δ' ὀστράκῳ πᾶς ὁ διὰ δόξαν ἢ γένος ἢ λόγου δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς νομιζόμενος ὑπέπιπτεν· ὅπου καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περικλέους διδάσκαλος, ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις
8 εἶναι περιττός, ἐξωστρακίσθη. καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυαμευτόν, ἀλλ' ἑλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἦρξέν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασι τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν ἧς διὰ πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ λαγχά-
9 νοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον Ἀριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτην δῆλός ἐστι τῆς πενίας ἐξελέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενος ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἑβδομήκοντα τοκιζομένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.

II. Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κλεισθένους μὲν τοῦ καταστησαμένου τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τοὺς τυράννους ἑταῖρος γενόμενος, ζηλώσας δὲ καὶ θαυμάσας μάλιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν Λυκοῦργον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἥψατο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολιτείας, ἔσχε δ' ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασιν παῖδας ὄντας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντρεφομένους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν παντὶ καὶ σπουδῆς ἐχομένῳ καὶ παιδιᾶς πράγματι καὶ λόγῳ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
2 καὶ τὰς φύσεις εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐκείνης

examined as to its validity; but to banishment in ostracism every one was liable who was superior to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage, or eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the teacher of Pericles, was ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom.[1] Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by the election of the Athenians.[2] And if he was made archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius himself has written, it is certainly very credible that in view of such a reputation and such successes as he there won, he should be deemed worthy, for his valour, of an office which men who drew lots for it obtained for their wealth. In fact, Demetrius is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides, but also Socrates from what he deems the great evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned not only his house, but also seventy minas out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. He therefore favoured an aristocratic form of government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles. Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils, from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by

[1] *Pericles*, iv. 2.

[2] From 508 B.C. to 487 B.C. the archons were elected by the Assembly; after 487, they were once more chosen by lot.

ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν μὲν εὐχερῆ καὶ παράβολον καὶ πανοῦργον οὖσαν καὶ μετ' ὀξύτητος ἐπὶ πάντα ῥᾳδίως φερομένην, τὴν δ' ἱδρυμένην ἐν ἤθει βεβαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀτενῆ,[1] ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ βωμολοχίαν καὶ ἀπάτην οὐδ' ἐν παιδιᾶς τινι τρόπῳ προσιεμένην.

Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Κεῖος ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι φησὶ καὶ προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν
3 ἔχθραν αὐτῶν. Στησίλεω γάρ, ὃς ἦν γένει Κεῖος, ἰδέᾳ τε καὶ μορφῇ σώματος πολὺ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ λαμπρότατος, ἀμφοτέρους ἐρασθέντας οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ πάθος οὐδ' ἅμα λήγοντι τῷ κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασαμένους ἐκείνῃ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐθὺς ὁρμῆσαι διαπύρους ὄντας καὶ διαφόρως ἔχοντας.

4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἑταιρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἶχε πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἄρξειν Ἀθηναίων, ἄνπερ ἴσος ᾖ καὶ κοινὸς ἅπασι "Μηδέποτε," εἰπεῖν, "εἰς τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι τὸν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον οὐδὲν ἕξουσιν
5 οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων·" Ἀριστείδης δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδὼν ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστὰ

[1] ἀτενῆ MSS. and editors, including Sintenis[1]: ἀτενεῖ after Classen.

this very rivalry their natures were straightway made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and unscrupulous, easily carried with impetuosity into any and every undertaking; the other as established on a firm character, intent on justice, and admitting no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any sport whatsoever.

But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin in a love affair. They were both enamoured of Stesilaüs, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty of person the most brilliant of youths; and they cherished their passion so immoderately, that not even after the boy's beauty had faded did they lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in that, they presently engaged in matters of state also with passionate heat and opposing desires.

Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied: "Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers." But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by himself, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by withholding favours; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming

καὶ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξιῶν θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, 32
ἠναγκάζετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν αὐξομένην ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι οἷς ἔπραττεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, βέλτιον ἡγούμενος παρελθεῖν ἔνια τῶν συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἢ τῷ κρατεῖν
2 ἐκεῖνον ἐν πᾶσιν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. τέλος δέ ποτε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πράττοντός τι τῶν δεόντων ἀντικρούσας καὶ περιγενόμενος οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπιών, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοιεν. πάλιν δὲ γράψας τινὰ γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἀντιλογίας οὔσης πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐκράτει· μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ προέδρου τὸν δῆμον ἐπερωτᾶν αἰσθόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀσύμφορον ἀπέστη τοῦ ψηφίσματος.
3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων εἰσέφερε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐμπόδιος εἴη τῷ συμφέροντι.

Θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὰς ἡ εὐστάθεια, μήτε ταῖς τιμαῖς ἐπαιρομένου πρός τε τὰς δυσημερίας ἀθορύβως καὶ πρᾴως ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁμοίως ἡγου-

it right that the good citizen should base his confidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides himself also was almost compelled—partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favour of the many—to set himself in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong. Finally there came a time when he opposed and defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the Assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself into the death-pit. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he withdrew it without a vote. And oftentimes he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honours, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he

μένου χρῆναι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ χρημάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξης προῖκα καὶ
4 ἀμισθὶ πολιτευόμενον. ὅθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν εἰς Ἀμφιάραον ὑπ' Αἰσχύλου πεποιημένων ἰαμβείων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων·

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἀφ' ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα,

πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς Ἀριστείδην, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης προσηκούσης.

IV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς εὔνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἰσχυρότατος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιστῆναι. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε διώκων ἐχθρόν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μετὰ τὴν κατηγορίαν οὐ βουλομένων ἀκούειν τοῦ κινδυνεύ-
ontos τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψῆφον εὐθὺς αἰτούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀναπηδήσας τῷ κρινομένῳ συνικετεύειν, ὅπως ἀκουσθείη καὶ τύχοι τῶν
2 νομίμων· πάλιν δὲ κρίνων ἰδιώταις δυσί, τοῦ ἑτέρου λέγοντος, ὡς πολλὰ τυγχάνει τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ ἀντίδικος λελυπηκὼς "Λέγ', ὦ 'γαθέ," φάναι, "μᾶλλον, εἴ τι σὲ κακὸν πεποίηκε· σοὶ γάρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, δικάζω." τῶν δὲ δημοσίων προσόδων αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους

considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by Aeschylus upon Amphiaraüs were recited in the theatre:—

"He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honourable counsellings,"[1]

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favour that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit's plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure. And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, "Tell me rather," he said, "whether he has done thee any wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking justice." When he was elected overseer of the public revenues, he proved clearly that large sums had been embezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by

[1] *Seven against Thebes*, 592 ff. (Dindorf).

ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε πολλὰ νενοσφισμένους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·

Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν.

3 Διὸ καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις διώκων κλοπῆς καταδίκῃ περιέβαλεν, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βελτίστων, οὐ μόνον ἀφείθη τῆς ζημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν ἀπεδείχθη. προσποιούμενος δὲ τῶν προτέρων μεταμέλειν αὐτῷ καὶ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἤρεσκε τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτουσιν οὐκ ἐξελέγχων οὐδ' ἀκριβολο-
4 γούμενος, ὥστε καταπιμπλαμένους τῶν δημοσίων ὑπερεπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σπουδάζοντας ἄρχοντα πάλιν αἱρεθῆναι. μελλόντων δὲ χειροτονεῖν ἐπετίμησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· "Ὅτε μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, "πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἦρξα, προὐπηλακίσθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν καταπροεῖμαι τοῖς κλέπτουσι
5 θαυμαστὸς εἶναι δοκῶ πολίτης. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνομαι τῇ νῦν τιμῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πρώην καταδίκῃ, συνάχθομαι δ' ὑμῖν, παρ' οἷς ἐνδοξότερόν ἐστι τοῦ σώζειν τὰ δημόσια τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πονηροῖς." ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς 32
ἐξελέγξας τοὺς μὲν τότε βοῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦντας ἐπεστόμισε, τὸν δ' ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἔπαινον εἶχεν.

those of former years, and particularly by Themistocles :—

"The man was clever, but of his hand had no control."

For this cause, Themistocles banded many together against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But the first and best men of the city were incensed at this, and he was not only exempted from his fine, but even appointed to administer the same charge again. Then he pretended to repent him of his former course, and made himself more pliable, thus giving pleasure to those who were stealing the common funds by not examining them or holding them to strict account, so that they gorged themselves with the public moneys, and then lauded Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more elected to his office. But just as they were about to vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. "Verily," said he, "when I served you in office with fidelity and honour, I was reviled and persecuted; but now that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honour than I was of my former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honourable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys." By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favour, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δᾶτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεὶς λόγῳ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα καθεστώτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ
2 καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης. καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μάχης γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστου στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντος, ὡς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδῃ, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ σεμνόν ἐστι καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραΰνας τὴν φιλονεικίαν καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μιᾷ γνώμῃ τῇ κρατίστῃ χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην τῷ ἀπερισπάστῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἐῶν ἕκαστος ἤδη τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχεν.
3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου πονήσαντος καὶ πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ τὴν Λεοντίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχίδα φυλήν, ἠγωνίσαντο λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ' ἀλλήλους ὅ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος
4 ἦν, ὁ δ' Ἀντιοχίδος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πλέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἑώρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἴσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν

V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest consideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favour. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to command for a day in turn, and put himself under the orders of Miltiades.

In the battle, the Athenian centre was the hardest pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid. When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians and driven them aboard their ships, and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of

ἀποβιαζομένους, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν·
5 ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φυλῆς Ἀριστείδης ἀπολειφθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ χύδην μὲν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθῆτος δὲ παντοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε θιγεῖν οὔτ' ἄλλον εἴασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκεῖνον λαθόντες ὠφελήθησαν· ὧν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος.
6 Τούτῳ γάρ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν βαρβάρων προσέπεσεν οἰηθεὶς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ στρόφιον εἶναι· προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔδειξε πολὺ χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ κατορωρυγμένον. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ παρανομώτατος γενόμενος τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν ἀνείλετο, τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον, ὡς μὴ κατείποι πρὸς ἑτέρους, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ καὶ λακκοπλούτους ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας λέγεσθαι, σκωπτόντων εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ χρυσίον ὁ Καλλίας εὗρεν.
7 Ἀριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν ἦρξε. καίτοι φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἄρξαι τὸν ἄνδρα μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ' οὗ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὐδ' ὁμώνυμον Ἀριστείδην ἐν πάνυ

wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day. But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, although certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge. Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer.[1]

Some Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit. Callias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets "Laccopluti," or "Pit-wealthies," in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

Aristides at once received the office of Archon *Eponymous*. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Plataea, that the man held this office.[2] But in the official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was defeated at Plataea, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much

[1] One of the highest officers at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.

[2] 479–478 B.C.

πολλοῖς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ Φαίνιππον,[1] ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων, εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδης ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται.

VI. Πασῶν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴσθησιν παρεῖχε διὰ τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἐνδελεχεστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ κοινοτάτην ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημοτικὸς ἐκτήσατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ θειοτάτην
2 προσηγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον· ὃ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων οὐδεὶς ἐζήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ Πολιορκηταὶ καὶ 32
Κεραυνοὶ καὶ Νικάτορες, ἔνιοι δ' Ἀετοὶ καὶ Ἱέρακες ἔχαιρον προσαγορευόμενοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὡς ἔοικε, μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀγαπῶντες. καίτοι τὸ θεῖον, ᾧ γλίχονται συνοικειοῦν καὶ συναφομοιοῦν αὐτούς, τρισὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ, ὧν καὶ[2] σεμνότατον ἡ ἀρετὴ
3 καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν. ἀφθάρτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῷ κενῷ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε, δύναμιν δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ κεραυνοὶ καὶ πνευμάτων ὁρμαὶ καὶ ῥευμάτων ἐπιφοραὶ μεγάλην ἔχουσι, δίκης δὲ καὶ θέμιδος οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι[3] μεταλαγχάνει.

Διὸ καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, ἃ πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ζήλου καὶ φόβου καὶ τιμῆς, ζηλοῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζειν ἐοίκασι κατὰ τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀΐδιον, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι κατὰ τὸ κύριον καὶ δυνατόν, ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν

[1] Φαίνιππον Bekker, Hercher, and Blass with $F^{1a}S$: Φάνιππον. [2] ὧν καὶ Hercher and Blass with S: ὧν.
[3] λογίζεσθαι Blass: λογίζεσθαι τὸ θεῖον *reasoning about the deity.*

as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after Phaenippus, in whose year of office the victory at Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as archon.[1]

VI. Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most continual and most general exercise. Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of "The Just." This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed "Besiegers," or "Thunderbolts," or "Conquerors," and some "Eagles," or "Hawks,"[2] cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue. And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority,—incorruption, power, and virtue; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is exhibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercise of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honourable regard, men seem to envy and felicitate the deities for their incorruption and perpetuity; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power; but to love and honour and revere them

[1] 490–489 B.C.

[2] Demetrius *Poliorcetes*; Ptolemy *Ceraunos*; Seleucus *Nicator*; Pyrrhus *Aëtos*; Antiochus *Hierax*.

4 καὶ σέβεσθαι κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἀλλά, καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας, ἣν ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἧς ἐν τῇ τύχῃ[1] κεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὴν δ' ἀρετήν, ὃ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐν ὑστέρῳ τίθενται, κακῶς φρονοῦντες, ὡς τὸν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τύχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ βίον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη ποιεῖ θεῖον, ἡ δ' ἀδικία θηριώδη.

VII. Τῷ δ' οὖν Ἀριστείδῃ συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὕστερον φθονεῖσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διαδιδόντος,[2] ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἀνῃρηκὼς τὰ δικαστήρια τῷ κρίνειν ἅπαντα καὶ δικάζειν, λέληθε μοναρχίαν ἀδορυφόρητον ἑαυτῷ κατεσκευασμένος· ἤδη δέ που καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιῶν αὑτὸν ἤχθετο τοῖς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
2 ἔχουσι. καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστυ πανταχόθεν ἐξοστρακίζουσι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ὄνομα τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης φόβον τυραννίδος θέμενοι.

Μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι' εὐπρέπειαν ὄγκου καὶ δυνάμεως βαρυτέρας ταπείνωσις καὶ κόλουσις, ἦν δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος, εἰς ἀνήκεστον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς μετάστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς

[1] τῇ τύχῃ Reiske, Hercher, and Blass with F^aS: τύχῃ.
[2] διαδιδόντος Hercher and Blass with F^aS: ἐκβαλόντος.

for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it divine; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastisement of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive prestige and power; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malignant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil,

3 τὸ λυποῦν ἀπερειδομένου δυσμένειαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤρξαντό τινες ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς ὑποβάλλειν τῷ πράγματι, τελευταῖον ἁπάντων Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακίσαντες ἐπαύσαντο. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι διεστασίαζον. ὡς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἔμελλε φέρειν τὸ ὄστρακον καὶ δῆλος ἦν τὸν ἕτερον γράψων, διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἑκατέρας εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγόντες τὸν
4 Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ προπεπηλακισμένον ἀφῆκε παντελῶς καὶ κατέλυσεν.

Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον, ὡς τύπῳ φράσαι, τὸ γινόμενον. ὄστρακον λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας ὃν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔφερεν εἰς ἕνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιπεφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ
5 δρυφάκτοις. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταὐτῷ τῶν ὀστράκων πλῆθος· εἰ γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίων ἐλάττονες οἱ φέροντες[1] εἶεν, ἀτελὴς ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός· ἔπειτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ θέντες τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον ἐξεκήρυττον εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καρπούμενον τὰ αὐτοῦ.

Γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὀστράκων λέγεταί 32
τινα τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ ὄστρακον ὡς ἑνὶ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν, ὅπως Ἀριστείδην ἐγγρά-
6 ψειε. τοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυθομένου, μή τι

[1] φέροντες Blass with F^aS : γράψαντες.

but in a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and Hyperbolus was the last to be thus ostracized.[1] It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

The method of procedure—to give a general outline—was as follows. Each voter took an *ostrakon*, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings. The archons first counted the total number of *ostraka* cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their *ostraka*, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his *ostrakon* to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write *Aristides* on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible

[1] About 417 B.C. Cf. *Nicias*, xi., *Alcibiades*, xiii.

κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, "Οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ γιγνώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρίνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὔξατο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, ὃς ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.

2 Ὡς γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα βουλευομένων τῶν περὶ Εὐρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τόν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἧκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ' Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made[1]—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,[2] when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

[1] *Iliad* i. 407–412. [2] 480 B.C.

πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον "Ἡμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεμι-
στόκλεις, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἤδη τὴν κενὴν καὶ
μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου
καὶ καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁμιλλώ-
μενοι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων,
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν
ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διαναυμαχεῖν ἐν
4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καί σοι τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμιοι συνεργεῖν
ἐοίκασι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἤδη
πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν ἀγαθοὺς
ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
5 λέλειπται." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
"Οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ
τοῦτό μου κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
πρὸς καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἁμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
τοῖς ἔργοις." ἅμα δ' αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ὑφ'
ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην
καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ
ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.
6 ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
μηδ' Ἀριστείδῃ τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ,
παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὡς
οὐκ ἂν ἐσιώπα μὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἄριστα τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δι'
εὔνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.

enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any goodwill to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁρῶν τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἣ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ἥλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
2 καὶ λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως 324
Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι. τὴν δὲ νησῖδα τοῖς ὅπλοις παντα-χόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστος ὠθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἕστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεῖττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα[1] διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
4 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

[1] τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὸ ζεῦγμα.

IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King's sister Sandaucé,[1] whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, xiii. 2.

δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὡρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψειε σώζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

X. Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον[1] ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα·
2 "Νενικήκατε θαλασσίοις ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κώπην ἐλαύνειν· ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιώτιον πεδίον ἀγαθοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι." πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἰδίᾳ γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τήν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κυρίους καταστήσειν ἐκποδὼν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους.
3 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις τροφὰς παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν· ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ
4 τὴν[2] χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες, Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

[1] δοκιμώτατον Blass with F^aS : μαχιμώτατον.
[2] καὶ τὴν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὴν.

he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,[1] a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, xvi. 2 f.

γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὤνια νομίζοιεν, ὧν κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἴσασιν, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὁρῶσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμνημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.
5 ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγών, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὔθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὔθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαιντο ἂν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, "Ἄχρι ἂν οὗτος," ἔφη, "ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδῃωμένης χώρας καὶ τῶν
6 ἠσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων ἱερῶν." ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο Μήδοις ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὖθις εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας, προεμένοις αὖθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἠξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος
7 βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἔφοροι μεθ' 32

with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everthing was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

ἡμέραν μὲν ἐδόκουν παίζειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν ἑορτάζοντες· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ὑακίνθια· νυκτὸς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιλέξαντες, ὧν ἕκαστος ἑπτὰ περὶ αὑτὸν εἵλωτας εἶχεν, ἐξέπεμψαν οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης προσῆλθεν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ληρεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασκον καὶ καθεύδειν, ἤδη γὰρ ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ τὸν στρατὸν εἶναι πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους (ξένους γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς Πέρσας),
8 οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔφη παίζειν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατῶντας. ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ Ἀριστείδου πρεσβευτὴς οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ Κίμων καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ Μυρωνίδης φέρονται.

XI. Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀκτακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας ἀναλαβών, ἧκεν εἰς Πλαταιάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγούμενος Ἑλληνικοῦ συνέμιξεν ἔχων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπέρρει τὸ πλῆθος.
2 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ μὲν ὅλον τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν παρεκτεταμένης οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅρος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τεῖχος περιεφράξαντο τετράγωνον, οὗ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκάστη μῆκος ἦν δέκα σταδίων.

Παυσανίᾳ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κοινῇ Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος ἐμαντεύσατο, καὶ προεῖπε νίκην ἀμυνομένοις καὶ μὴ προεπιχειροῦσιν·

it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-going festival fashion; for it was their festival of the *Hyacinthia*. But in the night they selected five thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots to attend upon him, and sent them forth without the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides came before them with renewed invectives, they laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler, for that their army was already in Arcadia on its march against the "strangers" (they called the Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies. This is the way Idomeneus tell the story. But in the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

XI. Having been elected general with sole powers in view of the expected battle, he came to Plataea[1] at the head of eight thousand Athenian hoplites. There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length.

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and

[1] Spring of 479 B.C.

3 Ἀριστείδου δὲ πέμψαντος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀθηναίους καθυπερτέρους ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων εὐχομένους τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Κιθαιρωνίᾳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ νύμφαις Σφραγίτισι, καὶ θύοντας ἥρωσιν Ἀνδροκράτει, Λεύκωνι, Πεισάνδρῳ, Δαμοκράτει, Ὑψίωνι, Ἀκταίωνι, Πολυΐδῳ, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν γᾷ ἰδίᾳ ποιουμένους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ
4 τᾶς Κόρας. οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀπορίαν τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ παρεῖχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥρωες, οἷς ἐκέλευε θύειν, ἀρχηγέται Πλαταιέων ἦσαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σφραγιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνός ἐστιν, εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινὰς τετραμμένον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν πρότερον, ὥς φασι, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, οὓς νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον.
5 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος πεδίον, καὶ τὸ τὴν μάχην ἐν ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νίκην δίδοσθαι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἔνθα τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτόν, ὅ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰπεῖν, "Αὔριον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξομεν, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχούμεθα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸ πυθόχρηστον."
6 τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ παντός· αὐτόθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταϊκὴν τὰ πυθόχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν. τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ Ἀριμνήστῳ φανέντων ἐξεγρό-

did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithaeronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nymphs; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actaeon, and Polyidus; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Plataeans; and the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called *nympholepti*, or "nymph-possessed." But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied: "On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle." Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke

μενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὗρεν, ὅτι τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ[1] Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσα-
7 γορευόμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, εὐφυέστατον ὄντα παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἱπποκρατουμένοις, διὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἄφιππα ποιούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον ἐγγύς, ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ
8 συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον. ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἐλλιπὲς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, Ἀριμνήστου γνώμην εἰπόντος, ἀνελεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς 32
Πλαταιΐδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.

9 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Πλαταιέων οὕτω συνέβη περιβόητον γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τειχίζοντα τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἀνειπεῖν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποδίδωσι Πλαταιεῦσι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπέδωκαν καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοὺς προθυμοτάτους.

XII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ Τεγεᾶται περὶ τάξεως ἐρίσαντες ἠξίουν, ὥσπερ ἀεί, Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ δεξιὸν ἐχόντων κέρας, αὐτοὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχειν,

[1] πάνυ omitted by Bekker, now found in S.

he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discoverd that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.

This munificence of the Plataeans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards, when he was now King of Asia,[1] built the walls of Plataea, and had proclamation made by herald at the Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace upon the Plataeans in return for their bravery and magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedaemonians held the right wing, they

[1] 331-330 B.C.

πολλὰ τοὺς αὑτῶν προγόνους ἐγκωμιάζοντες. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης εἶπε· "Τεγεάταις μὲν ἀντειπεῖν περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσι, πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος οὐδὲ δίδωσιν· ἣν δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν τάξιν ἀποδῶτε πειρασόμεθα κοσμοῦντες καὶ φυλάττοντες μὴ καταισχύνειν τοὺς προηγωνι-
2 σμένους ἀγῶνας. ἥκομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῖς συμμάχοις στασιάσοντες, ἀλλὰ μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδ' ἐπαινεσόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλ' αὑτοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρέξοντες· ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν δείξει καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἰδιώτην ὁπόσου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἄξιός ἐστι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ θάτερον αὐτοῖς κέρας ἀπέδοσαν.

XIII. Οὔσης δὲ μετεώρου τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων, ἄνδρες ἐξ οἴκων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων πένητες ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἅμα τῷ πλούτῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν αὑτῶν καὶ δόξαν οἰχομένην ὁρῶντες, ἑτέρων τιμωμένων καὶ ἀρχόντων, συνῆλθον εἰς οἰκίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς κρύφα καὶ συνωμόσαντο καταλύσειν τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δὲ μὴ προχωροίη, λυμανεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προδώσειν.

2 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν καιρόν, ἔγνω μήτ' ἐᾶν

themselves should hold the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech: "To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there is surely no time now; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valour is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him, by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavour to maintain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or private soldier is worth to Hellas." On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honours and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Plataea, and conspired to overthrow the democracy; or, if their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.

Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that favoured the plot, determined not to leave the

ἀμελούμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα μήθ' ἅπαν ἐκκαλύπτειν, ἀγνοούμενον εἰς ὅσον ἐκβήσεται πλῆθος ὁ ἔλεγχος τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ζητῶν ὅρον ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.
3 ὀκτὼ δή τινας ἐκ πολλῶν συνέλαβε· καὶ τούτων δύο μέν, οἷς πρώτοις ἡ κρίσις προεγράφη, οἳ καὶ πλείστην αἰτίαν εἶχον, Αἰσχίνης Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ Ἀγησίας Ἀχαρνεύς, ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀφῆκε, θαρσῆσαι διδοὺς καὶ μεταγνῶναι τοῖς ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένοις, ὑπειπὼν ὡς μέγα δικαστήριον ἔχουσι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς αἰτίας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῇ πατρίδι βουλευόμενοι.

XIV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Μαρδόνιος, ᾧ πλεῖστον ἐδόκει διαφέρειν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεπειρᾶτο, τὴν ἵππον ἀθρόαν αὐτοῖς ἐφεὶς καθεζομένοις ὑπὸ τὸν πρόποδα τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς καὶ πετρώδεσι πλὴν Μεγαρέων. οὗτοι δὲ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις μᾶλλον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. διὸ καὶ κακῶς ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ῥυείσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς
2 ἐχούσης πανταχόθεν. ἔπεμπον οὖν ἄγγελον κατὰ τάχος πρὸς Παυσανίαν βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ὑποστῆναι τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ταῦτα Παυσανίας ἀκούων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ καθορῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀκοντισμάτων καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μεγαρέων καὶ συνεσταλμένους αὐτοὺς εἰς ὀλίγον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμήχανος ἦν πρὸς ἱππότας ἀμύνειν 32

matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, Aeschines of Lamptrae and Agesias of Acharnae, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggested to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of Cithaeron, in positions that were rugged and rocky—all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians. Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy's javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering

ὁπλιτικῇ φάλαγγι καὶ βαρείᾳ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν,
3 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσι προὔθετο ζῆλον ἀρετῆς
καὶ φιλοτιμίας, εἰ δή τινες ἑκόντες ἀναδέξαιντο
προαγωνίσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι.
τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀκνούντων Ἀριστείδης ἀναδεξάμενος
ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἔργον ἀποστέλλει τὸν
προθυμότατον τῶν λοχαγῶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον,
ἔχοντα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένους λογάδας
τριακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀναμεμιγμένους σὺν
αὐτοῖς.
4 Τούτων δὲ[1] ὀξέως διασκευασαμένων καὶ προσ-
φερομένων δρόμῳ, Μασίστιος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἵππαρχος, ἀνὴρ ἀλκῇ τε θαυμαστὸς μεγέθει τε
καὶ κάλλει σώματος περιττός, ὡς κατεῖδεν,
ἐναντίον ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνε.
τῶν δ' ἀνασχομένων καὶ συμβαλόντων ἦν ἀγὼν
καρτερός, ὡς πεῖραν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ παντὸς λαμ-
5 βανόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὁ ἵππος τὸν Μα-
σίστιον ἀπέρριψε καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν
ὅπλων αὐτός τε δυσκίνητος ἦν ἀναφέρειν καὶ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ἐπικειμένοις καὶ παίουσι δυσμεταχείρι-
στος, οὐ μόνον στέρνα καὶ κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
γυῖα χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-
μένος, τοῦτον μὲν ᾗ τὸ κράνος ὑπέφαινε τὸν
ὀφθαλμὸν ἀκοντίου στύρακι παίων τις ἀνεῖλεν, οἱ
δ' ἄλλοι Πέρσαι προέμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν ἔφευγον.
6 ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν τοῦ πλήθους,
ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ πεσόντες ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πένθει τῶν

[1] τούτων δὲ Hercher and Blass with $F^{a}S$: τούτων.

them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armoured and slow of movement; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, in order to stir up their valour and ambition, that some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succour of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred picked men of his command, and archers mingled with them.

These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the Barbarian cavalry, a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withstood and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armour; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his limbs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled. The magnitude of their success was known to the Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few

βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἔκειραν ἐπὶ τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους, οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πεδίον ἐνεπίμπλασαν, ὡς ἄνδρα πολὺ πρῶτον ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει μετά γε Μαρδόνιον αὐτὸν ἀποβαλόντες.

XV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἱππομαχίαν ἀμφότεροι μάχης ἔσχοντο χρόνον πολύν· ἀμυνομένοις γὰρ οἱ μάντεις νίκην προὔφαινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἥτταν. ἔπειτα Μαρδόνιος, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια περιῆν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἀεί τινων ἐπιρρεόντων πλείονες ἐγίνοντο, δυσανασχετῶν ἔγνω μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς ἅμα φάει τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπροσδοκήτως· καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἑσπέρας ἔδωκε.

2 Μεσούσης δὲ μάλιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνὴρ ἵππον ἔχων ἀτρέμα προσεμίγνυε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐντυχὼν δὲ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν Ἀριστείδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ ταχέως ἔφησεν· "Εἰμὶ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ἥκω δὲ κινδύνων τὸν μέγιστον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αἱρόμενος, ὡς μὴ τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἐκπλήξειεν ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἀγωνίσασθαι.
3 μαχεῖται γὰρ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος αὔριον, οὐχ ὑπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οὐδὲ θάρσους, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ μάντεις ἐκεῖνον ἀπαισίοις ἱεροῖς καὶ λογίοις χρησμῶν εἴργουσι μάχης, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχει δυσθυμία πολλὴ καὶ κατάπληξις. ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τολμῶντα πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης

had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. For they shore their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valour and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle, both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs—so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes,—but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at day-break and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watchword to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with the outposts, ordered that Aristides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said: "I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my good-will toward you, that no suddenness of attack may frighten you into inferior fighting. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His soothsayers, indeed, are trying to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is full of dejection and consternation; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit

ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένειν ἀπορίαν καθεζόμενον.
4 ταῦτα φράσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδεῖτο τὸν Ἀριστείδην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ μὴ κατειπεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔφη ταῦτα Παυσανίαν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀνακεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρρητα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἔδοξεν[1] ἔσεσθαι, νικώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδένα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου προθυμίαν καὶ
5 ἀρετὴν ἀγνοήσειν. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὅ τε βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπήλαυνεν ὀπίσω πάλιν, ὅ τε Ἀριστείδης ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν 32
σκηνὴν τοῦ Παυσανίου διηγεῖτο τοὺς λόγους· καὶ μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρήγγελλον ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ', ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, Παυσανίας Ἀριστείδῃ προσέφερε λόγον, ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι καὶ[2] κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῆναι, βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῆς τε μάχης ἐμπείρους γεγονότας καὶ τῷ προνενικηκέναι θαρροῦντας, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδοῦναι τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὅπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες ἐπιβάλλειν ἔμελλον.
2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀγνώμονα καὶ φορτικὸν ἡγοῦντο τὸν Παυσανίαν, εἰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐῶν τάξιν ἐν χώρᾳ μόνους ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρει σφᾶς ὥσπερ εἵλωτας, κατὰ τὸ

[1] ἔδοξεν bracketed by Bekker, omitted by Blass.

[2] μετατάξαι καὶ MSS., Sintenis[1], Coraës, Bekker: μεταγαγόντα.

still and endure extremest destitution." When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honourable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander's zeal and valour. After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates,[1] Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous victory over them; the left wing, where the Medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the

[1] ix. 46.

μαχιμώτατον προβαλλόμενος· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦ παντός, εἰ πρώην μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχειν διεφιλοτιμοῦντο Τεγεάταις καὶ προκριθέντες ἐσε-
3 μνύνοντο, νῦν δέ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἑκουσίως αὐτοῖς ἐξισταμένων τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόντων, οὔτε τὴν δόξαν ἀγαπῶσιν οὔτε κέρδος ἡγοῦνται τὸ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους καὶ φύσει πολεμίους ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου πάνυ προθύμως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διημείβοντο τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις τὴν
4 τάξιν· καὶ λόγος ἐχώρει δι' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἀλλήλοις παρεγγυώντων, ὡς οὔτε ὅπλα βελτίω λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς ἀμείνους οἱ πολέμιοι τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι προσίασιν, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις τόξα, ταὐτὰ δ' ἐσθῆτος ποικίλματα καὶ χρυσὸς ἐπὶ σώμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀνάνδροις· ἡμῖν δ' ὅμοια μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σώματα, μεῖζον δὲ ταῖς νίκαις τὸ θάρσος, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐχ ὑπὲρ χώρας καὶ πόλεως μόνον, ὡς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι τροπαίων, ὡς μηδ' ἐκεῖνα Μιλτιάδου δοκῇ καὶ τύχης, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων.

5 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντες ἐν ἀμείψει τῶν τάξεων ἦσαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρ' αὐτομόλων Μαρδονίῳ φράζουσι. κἀκεῖνος εὐθύς, εἴτε δεδιὼς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις

fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared that they were utterly wrong; they had contended emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals; but now, when the Lacedaemonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with Barbarians and natural enemies. Upon this the Athenians very willingly exchanged posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits; "while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of our victories; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians."

The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedaemonians,

συμπεσεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἀντιπαρεξῆγε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐκέλευε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵστασθαι.
6 γενομένης δὲ τῆς μετακοσμήσεως καταφανοῦς ὅ τε Παυσανίας ἀποτραπεὶς αὖθις ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κατέστη, καὶ Μαρδόνιος, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀνέλαβε τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γενόμενος, ἥ τε ἡμέρα διεξῆλθεν ἀργή. καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὔυδρον χωρίον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρτο τῶν βαρβάρων ἱπποκρατούνων.

XVII. Ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην στρατοπεδείαν οὐ πάνυ πρόθυμον ἦν ἕπεσθαι καὶ συμμένειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἐρυμάτων ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πλαταιέων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐκεῖ διασκιδναμένων καὶ κατασκηνούντων ἀτάκτως. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ συνέβαινεν[1] ἄκουσι μόνοις ἀπολεί-
2 πεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων· Ἀμομφάρετος γάρ, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ἔκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τὰς πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μελλήσεις, τότε δὴ παντάπασι τὴν μετανάστασιν φυγὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν, οὐκ ἔφη λείψειν τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι μένων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λοχιτῶν ὑποστήσεσθαι Μαρδό-
3 νιον. ὡς δὲ Παυσανίας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγε ταῦτα πράττειν ἐψηφισμένα καὶ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀράμενος ταῖν χεροῖν πέτρον μέγαν ὁ

[1] συνέβαινεν Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis[1]: συνέβη [μὲν].

counterchanged his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, whereupon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedaemonians. And thus the day came to an end without action. The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighbouring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians' superior force of cavalry.

XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataea, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsover. But it chanced that the Lacedaemonians were left alone behind the others, and that too against their will. For Amompharetus, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many postponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council,

Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ καταβαλὼν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου ταύτην ἔφη ψῆφον αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς 329
μάχης τίθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δειλὰ βουλεύματα καὶ δόγματα χαίρειν ἐᾶν. ἀπορούμενος δὲ Παυσανίας τῷ παρόντι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἀπιόντας ἤδη, περιμεῖναι δεόμενος καὶ κοινῇ βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἦγε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὡς ἀναστήσων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, καὶ Μαρδόνιος (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐκλελοιπότες οἱ Ἕλληνες) ἔχων συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις βοῇ πολλῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς οὐ μάχης ἐσομένης, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀναρπασομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὃ μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς ἐδέησε γενέσθαι.
5 κατιδὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας ἔσχετο μὲν τῆς πορείας καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μάχῃ τάξιν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ἕκαστον, ἔλαθε δ' αὐτόν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὀργῆς εἴτε τῷ τάχει θορυβηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων, σύνθημα μὴ δοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὅθεν οὔτ' εὐθὺς οὔτ' ἀθρόοι, κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ σποράδην, ἤδη τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσεβοήθουν.
6 Ὡς δὲ θυόμενος οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, προσέταξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θεμένους ἀτρέμα καθέζεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐσφαγιάζετο. καὶ προσέπιπτον οἱ ἱππεῖς· ἤδη δὲ καὶ βέλος ἐξικνεῖτο καί τις ἐπέπληκτο
7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικράτης,

Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest. Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athenians, who were already moving off, begging them to wait and make the march in company with him, and then began to lead the rest of his troops toward Plataea, with the idea that he would thus force Amompharetus from his position.

At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, with great shouting and clamour on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amompharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy, to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and straggling, after the battle was already joined.

When Pausanias got no favourable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedaemonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. By this time the horsemen were charging upon them; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was

ὃν ἰδέᾳ τε κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων καὶ σώματι μέγιστον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τοξευθεὶς καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θάνατον ὀδύρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οἴκοθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανούμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι θνήσκει τῇ χειρὶ μὴ χρησάμενος. ἦν οὖν τὸ μὲν πάθος δεινόν, ἡ δ' ἐγκράτεια θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καιρὸν ἀναμένοντες ἠνείχοντο βαλλόμενοι καὶ πίπτοντες ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν.

8 Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τῷ Παυσανίᾳ μικρὸν ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως θύοντι καὶ κατευχομένῳ τῶν Λυδῶν τινας ἄφνω προσπεσόντας ἁρπάζειν καὶ διαρρίπτειν τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅπλα ῥάβδοις καὶ μάστιξι παίειν· διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς μιμήματα τὰς περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ πληγὰς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Λυδῶν πομπὴν συντελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Δυσφορῶν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἄλλα τοῦ μάντεως ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἱερεῖα καταβάλλοντος, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τῇ ὄψει δεδακρυμένος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν εὔξατο Κιθαιρωνίᾳ Ἥρᾳ καὶ θεοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ Πλαταιΐδα γῆν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πέπρωται τοῖς Ἕλλησι νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ δράσαντάς γέ τι παθεῖν καὶ δείξαντας ἔργῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μάχε-
2 σθαι μεμαθηκότας ἐστράτευσαν. ταῦτα τοῦ Παυσανίου θεοκλυτοῦντος ἅμα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐφάνη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ νίκην ὁ μάντις ἔφραζε. καὶ δοθέντος

that Callicrates, said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow. Their experience was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favourable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught, the ceremonies of beating the young warriors round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the Heraeum, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithaeronian Hera and the other gods of the Plataean land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced

εἰς ἅπαντας τοῦ παραγγέλματος καθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἥ τε φάλαγξ ὄψιν ἔσχεν αἰφνιδίως ἑνὸς ζῴου θυμοειδοῦς πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένου καὶ φρίξαντος, τοῖς τε βαρβάροις τότε παρέστη λογισμός, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁ ἀγὼν
3 ἔσοιτο μαχουμένους ἄχρι θανάτου. διὸ καὶ προθέμενοι πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευον εἰς τοὺς[1] Λακεδαιμονίους. οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες ἅμα τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐξεώθουν τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες πρόσωπα καὶ στέρνα τῶν Περσῶν πολλοὺς κατέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν δοράτων ταῖς χερσὶ γυμ-
ναῖς συνέθραυον τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς 330
ξιφουλκίας ἐχώρουν οὐκ ἀργῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε κοπίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκινάκαις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας παρασπῶντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι χρόνον πολὺν ἀντεῖχον.

4 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τέως μὲν ἠτρέμουν ἀναμένοντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγή τε προσέπιπτε πολλὴ μαχομένων καὶ παρῆν, ὥς φασιν, ἄγγελος παρὰ Παυσανίου τὰ γινόμενα φράζων, ὥρμησαν κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν. καὶ προχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὴν βοὴν ἐπεφέ-
5 ρουτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες, Ἀριστείδης δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς εἶδε, πολὺ προελθὼν ἐβόα, μαρτυρόμενος Ἑλληνίους θεούς, ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ μὴ σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι μηδὲ κωλύειν ἐπαμύνοντας τοῖς προκινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα μὴ προσέχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, οὕτω τῆς

[1] εἰς τοὺς Hercher and Blass with S: τοὺς.

victory. Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimetars, tearing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace; and so they held out a long time.

The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedaemonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say, a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the Medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were

ἐκεῖ βοηθείας ἀποτραπόμενος συνέβαλε τούτοις
6 περὶ πεντακισμυρίους οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἀπεχώρησεν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἡ δὲ μάχη λέγεται μάλιστα κατὰ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι, προθυμότατα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων.

XIX. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δίχα συνεστῶτος πρῶτοι μὲν ἐώσαντο τοὺς Πέρσας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ τὸν Μαρδόνιον ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης ὄνομα Ἀρίμνηστος ἀποκτίννυσι, λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξας, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προεσήμανε τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον. ἔπεμψε γὰρ ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐνταῦθα, Κᾶρα δὲ ἕτερον εἰς Τροφωνίου ὁ[1] Μαρδόνιος· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ προφήτης Καρικῇ
2 γλώσσῃ προσεῖπεν, ὁ δὲ Λυδὸς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω κατευνασθεὶς ἔδοξεν ὑπηρέτην τινὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, μὴ βουλομένου δὲ λίθον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμβαλεῖν μέγαν, ὥστε δόξαι πληγέντα τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγεται. τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἰς τὰ ξύλινα τείχη καθεῖρξαν.

Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Θηβαίους τρέπονται, τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
3 πρώτους διαφθείραντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ. γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἧκεν αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος πολιορκεῖσθαι τὸ βαρβαρικὸν εἰς τὰ τείχη κατα-

[1] ὁ bracketed in Sintenis[2]; Blass reads εἰς τὸ Πτῷον ὁ with S, after Hercher, thus agreeing with Herodotus viii. 135.

arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly Medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedaemonians were first to repulse the Persians. Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraüs. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the oracle of Trophonius.[1] This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue ; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraüs, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man's dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade.

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the Barbarian force was shut up and besieged

[1] According to Herodotus, viii. 135, Mys the Carian visited the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo, overlooking Lake Copaïs.

κεκλεισμένον. οὕτω δὴ σώζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐάσαντες ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰ τείχη· καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις παντάπασιν ἀργῶς πρὸς τειχομαχίαν καὶ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν ἐπιφανέντες αἱροῦσι τὸ στρατόπεδον φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν πολεμίων.
4 λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων τετρακισμύριοι φυγεῖν σὺν Ἀρταβάζῳ, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνισαμένων ἔπεσον οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, πάντες ἐκ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς, ὥς φησι Κλεί-
5 δημος, ἀγωνισαμένης ἄριστα· διὸ καὶ ταῖς Σφραγίτισι νύμφαις ἔθυον Αἰαντίδαι τὴν πυθόχρηστον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης, ἐκ δημοσίου τὸ ἀνάλωμα λαμβάνοντες· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἑνὶ πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεᾶται δ' ἑκκαίδεκα.

Θαυμαστὸν οὖν τὸ Ἡροδότου, πῶς μόνους τούτους φησὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεσόντων μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ μνήματα
6 κοινὸν γενέσθαι τὸ κατόρθωμα· καὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μόναι τρεῖς πόλεις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεζομένων·

Τόνδε ποθ' Ἕλληνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρηος,[1]
Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν
ἱδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου.

[1] Coraës and Bekker insert after this verse the pentameter: εὐτόλμῳ ψυχᾶς λήματι πειθόμενοι, *following the bold impulse of their spirit*, found in the Palatine Anthology, vi. 50.

in their stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedaemonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their escape with Artabazus. Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty. Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Aeantid tribe, according to Cleidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Aeantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedaemonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea.

Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus,[1] where he says that these one hundred and fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was:—

"Here did the Hellenès, flushed with a victory granted by Ares
Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas delivered,
Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as Deliverer known."

[1] ix. 85.

7 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδι τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, ᾗ 33 καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροίζεται συνέδριον καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστέον, ὅπου καὶ νῦν διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἀριστεῖον οὐ παραδιδόντων τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐδὲ τρόπαιον ἱστάναι συγχωρούντων ἐκείνοις, παρ' οὐδὲν ἂν ἦλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διαστάντων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ παρηγορῶν καὶ διδάσκων τοὺς συστρατήγους ὁ Ἀριστείδης, μάλιστα δὲ Λεωκράτη καὶ Μυρωνίδην, ἔσχε καὶ συνέπεισε τὴν 2 κρίσιν ἐφεῖναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐνταῦθα βουλευομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων Θεογείτων μὲν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἶπεν, ὡς ἑτέρᾳ[1] πόλει δοτέον εἴη τὸ ἀριστεῖον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ἀναστὰς Κλεόκριτος ὁ Κορίνθιος δόξαν μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς Κορινθίοις αἰτήσων τὸ ἀριστεῖον· ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἡ Κόρινθος· εἶπε δὲ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα καὶ θαυμαστὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ Πλαταιέων, καὶ συνεβούλευσε τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἀνελεῖν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀριστεῖον ἀποδόντας, οἷς 3 οὐδετέρους τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων πρῶτος μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεχώρησεν

[1] ἑτέρᾳ Bekker has οὐδετέρᾳ *neither city*, adopting a conjecture of Muretus.

This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon time; but according to the Boeotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus,[1] the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory. We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valour, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision. Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valour must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleocritus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valour for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Plataeans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valour, since at their honour neither claimant could take offence. To this proposal Aristides was first to

[1] About August 1, 479 B.C.

ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπειτα Παυσανίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέντες ἐξεῖλον ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνῳκοδόμησαν[1] ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἕδος ἔστησαν καὶ γραφαῖς τὸν νεὼν διεκόσμησαν, αἳ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσαι διαμένουσιν, ἔστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι.

4 Περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, θῦσαι δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μεμιασμένον ἐναύσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιιόντες εὐθὺς ἠνάγκαζον ἀποσβεννύναι τὰ πυρὰ πάντα τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐκ δὲ Πλαταιέων Εὐχίδας ὑποσχόμενος ὡς ἐνδέχεται τάχιστα κομιεῖν
5 τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ ἧκεν εἰς Δελφούς. ἁγνίσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἐστεφανώσατο δάφνῃ· καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ πῦρ δρόμῳ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἐχώρει καὶ πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἐπανῆλθε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας χιλίους σταδίους κατανύσας. ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸ πῦρ παραδοὺς εὐθὺς ἔπεσε καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξέπνευσεν. ἀγάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐπιγράψαντες τόδε τὸ τετράμετρον·

Εὐχίδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἦλθε τᾷδ' αὐθημερόν.

[1] ἀνῳκοδόμησαν Hercher and Blass, following Stephanus, and favoured by F^a^S: ᾠκοδόμησαν *built.*

agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.

When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Plataea to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse:—

> "Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here
> the selfsame day."

6 Τὴν δ' Εὔκλειαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσι καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἄρτεμιν, ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἡρακλέους μὲν θυγατέρα καὶ Μυρτοῦς γενέσθαι, τῆς Μενοιτίου μὲν θυγατρός, Πατρόκλου δ' ἀδελφῆς, τελευτήσασαν δὲ παρθένον ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Λοκροῖς τιμάς. βωμὸς γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἵδρυται, καὶ προθύουσιν αἵ τε γαμούμεναι καὶ οἱ γαμοῦντες.

XXI Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης ἐκκλησίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωρούς, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἐλευθερίων. εἶναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἑλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν ἀσπίδας, χιλίους δὲ ἵππους, ναῦς δ' ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βαρβάρους πόλεμον, Πλαταιεῖς δ' ἀσύλους καὶ ἱεροὺς ἀφεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

2 Κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν δρῶσι τόνδε[1] τὸν τρόπον· τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅς ἐστι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλαλκομένιος, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πέμπουσι πομπήν, ἧς προηγεῖται μὲν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ σαλπιγκτὴς 3 ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, ἕπονται δ' ἅμαξαι μυρρίνης μεσταὶ καὶ στεφανωμάτων καὶ μέλας ταῦρος καὶ χοὰς οἴνου καὶ γάλακτος ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν ἐλαίου τε καὶ μύρου κρωσσοὺς νεανίσκοι κομίζοντες ἐλεύθεροι· δούλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔξεστι τῶν

[1] τόνδε Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τοῦτον.

Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed; but some say she was a daughter of Heracles and of that Myrto who was daughter of Menoetius and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated — the *Eleutheria;* also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to

περὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἐκείνην προσάψασθαι διὰ τὸ
4 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας· ἐπὶ πᾶσι
δὲ τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ ἄρχων, ᾧ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
οὔτε σιδήρου θιγεῖν ἔξεστιν οὔθ' ἑτέραν ἐσθῆτα
πλὴν λευκῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, τότε χιτῶνα φοινικοῦν
ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀράμενός τε ὑδρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμματο-
φυλακίου ξιφήρης ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους προάγει διὰ
5 μέσης τῆς πόλεως. εἶτα λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς
κρήνης αὐτὸς ἀπολούει τε τὰς στήλας καὶ μύρῳ
χρίει, καὶ τὸν ταῦρον εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφάξας καὶ
κατευξάμενος Διὶ καὶ Ἑρμῇ χθονίῳ παρακαλεῖ
τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἱμοκουρίαν.
ἔπειτα κρατῆρα κεράσας οἴνου καὶ χεάμενος ἐπι-
λέγει· "Προπίνω τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθανοῦσι." ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταεῖς.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἑώρα ζητοῦντας
τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ἄξιον ἡγού-
μενος διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπιμελείας τὸν δῆμον,
ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἔτι ῥᾴδιον ἰσχύοντα τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ
μέγα φρονοῦντα ταῖς νίκαις ἐκβιασθῆναι, γράφει
ψήφισμα κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι.
2 Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντος, ὡς
ἔχει τι βούλευμα καὶ γνώμην ἀπόρρητον, ὠφέ-
λιμον δὲ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτήριον, ἐκέλευσαν
Ἀριστείδην μόνον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ συνδοκιμάσαι.

any part of that ministration, because the men thus honoured died for freedom); and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city's archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves; there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes." These rites, I say, are observed by the Plataeans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians had returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valour, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass judgment on

φράσαντος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστείδη τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς διανοεῖται τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἁπάντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττειν διανοεῖται, μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν ἄλλην μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν εἶναι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παύσασθαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα προσέταξαν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἦν φιλοδίκαιος, οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑώρα τόν τε Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ χαλεποὺς τοῖς συμμάχοις ὄντας, αὐτός τε πρᾴως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁμιλῶν καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα παρέχων εὐάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔλαθε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ ναυσὶν οὐδ' ἵπποις, εὐγνωμοσύνῃ δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
2 παρελόμενος. προσφιλεῖς γὰρ ὄντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἕλλησι διὰ τὴν Ἀριστείδου δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος ἐπιείκειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ Παυσανίου πλεονεξία καὶ βαρύτης ποθεινοὺς ἐποίει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄρχουσι τῶν συμμάχων ἀεὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐνετύγχανε καὶ τραχέως, τούς τε πολλοὺς ἐκόλαζε πληγαῖς ἢ σιδηρᾶν ἄγκυραν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἠνάγκαζεν ἑστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας.
3 στιβάδα δ' οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν οὐδὲ χόρτον οὐδὲ κρήνῃ προσελθεῖν ὑδρευόμενον οὐδένα πρὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀλλὰ μάστιγας ἔχοντες ὑπηρέται

it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest, and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose.[1] So fond of justice was the people, and so loyal and true to the people was Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war,[2] and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedaemonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and his severity. The commanders of the allies ever met with angry harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, xx. 1-2. [2] 478 B.C.

τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπήλαυνον. ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ βουληθέντος ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ διδάξαι,[1] συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Παυσανίας οὐκ ἔφη σχολάζειν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν.

4 Ἐκ τούτου προσιόντες οἱ ναύαρχοι καὶ στρα- 333
τηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μάλιστα δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Λέσβιοι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἔπειθον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους πάλαι δεομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου τοῖς μὲν λόγοις αὐτῶν τό τε ἀναγκαῖον ἐνορᾶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἔργου δὲ δεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν, ὃ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἐάσει
5 πάλιν μεταβαλέσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως οἱ περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην καὶ τὸν Χῖον Ἀνταγόραν συνομοσάμενοι περὶ Βυζάντιον ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν τριήρη τοῦ Παυσανίου, προεκπλέουσαν ἐν μέσῳ λαβόντες. ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐξανέστη καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἠπείλησεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιδείξειν οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ἐμβεβληκότας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας, ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν συναγωνισαμένην τύχην ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰσχυνομένους μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀξίαν δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δ' ἀποστάντες ᾤχοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

6 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης διεφάνη

[1] ποτὲ . . . διδάξαι Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ποτ' ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ διδάξαι βουλομένου.

armed with goads would drive away such as approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again. So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favour at Plataea; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians.

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the

θαυμαστόν. ὡς γὰρ ᾔσθοντο τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας διαφθειρομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀφῆκαν ἑκουσίως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο στρατηγούς, μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σωφρονοῦντας ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν ἁπάσης.

XXIV. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐτέλουν μέν τινα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένων ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ταχθῆναι δὲ βουλόμενοι κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ᾐτήσαντο παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην, καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὁρίσαι τὸ κατ' 2 ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὰ πράγματα πάντα θεμένης, πένης μὲν ἐξῆλθεν, ἐπανῆλθε δὲ πενέστερος, οὐ μόνον καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσφιλῶς πᾶσι καὶ ἁρμοδίως τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν χρημάτων ποιησάμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον, οὕτως οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρον εὐποτμίαν τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀνομάζοντες ὕμνουν, καὶ μάλιστα μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διπλασιασθέντος, 3 εἶτ' αὖθις τριπλασιασθέντος. ὃν μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστείδης ἔταξεν, ἦν εἰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων λόγον· τούτῳ δὲ Περικλῆς μὲν ἐπέθηκεν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ τρίτον μέρος· ἑξακόσια γὰρ τάλαντα Θουκυδίδης φησὶν ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου προσιέναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων· Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπιτείνοντες

Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When they saw that their commanders were corrupted by the great powers entrusted to them, they voluntarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending out generals for the war, choosing rather to have their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.

XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues,[1] and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus—the golden age, so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled. For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides[2] says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after

[1] 478–477 B.C. [2] ii. 13.

οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ πολέμου διὰ μῆκος καὶ τύχας δαπανηροῦ γενομένου καὶ πολυτελοῦς, ὡς τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομὰς καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν προαγαγόντες.

4 Μέγα δ' οὖν ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ διατάξει τῶν φόρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς λέγεται καταγελᾶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὄντα τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ θυλάκου χρυσοφύλακος· ἀνομοίως ἀμυνόμενος τὴν Ἀριστείδου παρρησίαν· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ[1] εἰπόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι μεγίστην στρατηγοῦ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι τὰ βουλεύματα τῶν πολεμίων, "Τοῦτο μέν," εἰπεῖν, "ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, καλὸν δὲ καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἡ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐγκράτεια."

XXV. Ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης ὤρκισε μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ὤμοσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μύ- 33
δρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχειν ἐγκρατέστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκβιαζομένων ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν τρέψαντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν[2]
2 ᾗ συμφέρει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. καθ' ὅλου δ' ὁ Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον ἐν

[1] ἐκείνῳ γὰρ Hercher and Blass with F^aS: ἐκεῖνος γάρ.
[2] ἑαυτὸν Hercher and Blass with F^aS: αὐτόν.

the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries.

So then Aristides had a great and admirable name for his adjustment of the revenues. But Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming that the praise he got therefor was not fit for a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came off second best, however, in this retort upon the plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when Themistocles once declared to him the opinion that the greatest excellence in a general was the anticipation of the plans of his enemies: "That is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honourable thing, and that which makes the real general, is his mastery over his fingers."

XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay the perjury to his own charge, and turn events to their own advantage. And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often

τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς συχνῆς καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην.[1] καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματά φησιν ἐκ Δήλου βουλευομένων Ἀθήναζε κομίσαι παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ[2] Σαμίων εἰσηγουμένων, εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς οὐ
3 δίκαιον μέν, συμφέρον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί. καὶ τέλος εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀγαπῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων διετέλεσε. δῆλον δ' ἐκεῖθεν. Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος ἦν αὐτῷ γένει προσήκων· τοῦτον οἱ ἐχθροὶ θανάτου διώκοντες, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν ἐγράψαντο μετρίως κατηγόρησαν, εἶπόν τινα λόγον ἔξωθεν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς·
4 "Ἀριστείδην," ἔφησαν, "ἴστε τὸν Λυσιμάχου θαυμαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι· τούτῳ πῶς οἴεσθε τὰ κατ' οἶκον ἔχειν ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐν τρίβωνι τοιούτῳ προερχόμενον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον; ἆρ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ῥιγοῦντα φανερῶς καὶ πεινᾶν οἴκοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζειν; τοῦτον μέντοι Καλλίας, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, πλουσιώτατος ὢν Ἀθηναίων περιορᾷ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς ἐνδεόμενον, πολλὰ κεχρημένος τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν δυνάμεως ἀπολε-
5 λαυκώς." ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα

[1] καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην Blass, favoured by F^aS: ἀδικίας δεομένης. [2] καὶ bracketed by Sintenis[2].

acted in accordance with the policy which his country had adopted, feeling that this required much actual injustice. For instance, he says that when the question of removing the moneys of the confederacy from Delos to Athens,[1] contrary to the compacts, was being debated, and even the Samians proposed it, Aristides declared that it was unjust, but advantageous. And yet, although he at last established his city in its sway over so many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and continued to be no less content with the reputation he got from being a poor man, than with that based on his trophies of victory. This is clear from the following story.

Callias the Torch-bearer was a kinsman of his. This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a capital charge, and after they had brought only moderate accusations against him within the scope of their indictment, they went outside of it and appealed to the judges as follows: "You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus," they said, "how he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose his domestic circumstances are when you see him entering the public assembly in such a scanty cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who shivers in public goes hungry at home, and is straitened for the other necessaries of life? Callias, however, who is the richest man of Athens (and his cousin at that), allows him to suffer want with his wife and children, though he has often had service of the man, and many times reaped advantage from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing

[1] 454 B.C.

θορυβοῦντας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ἀξιῶν μαρτυρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ διδόντος καὶ δεομένου λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποκρινόμενος, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν μέγα φρονεῖν ἢ Καλλίᾳ διὰ πλοῦτον προσήκει· πλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς χρωμένους, πενίαν δὲ φέροντι γενναίως οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐντυχεῖν· αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ
6 πενίαν τοὺς ἀκουσίως πενομένους. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου τῷ Καλλίᾳ προσμαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν ἀκουόντων, ὃς οὐκ ἀπῄει πένης μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀριστείδης εἶναι βουλόμενος ἢ πλουτεῖν ὡς Καλλίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν[1] Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀναγέγραφε. Πλάτων δὲ τῶν μεγάλων δοκούντων καὶ ὀνομαστῶν Ἀθήνησι μόνον ἄξιον λόγου τοῦτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα· Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα στοῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀριστείδην δὲ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν.

7 Μεγάλα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα τῆς ἐπιεικείας σημεῖα. χρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῷ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐξοστρακισθείς, ἐπεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐλαυνόντων καὶ κατηγορούντων μόνος Ἀριστείδης οὔτ' ἔπραξεν οὔτ' εἶπέ τι φαῦλον, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυσεν ἐχθροῦ

[1] μὲν οὖν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : μὲν.

that his judges were very turbulent at this charge, and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides and demanded his testimony before the judges that though often proffered aid from him and importuned to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer that it more became him to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were to be seen who use wealth well or ill, but it was not easy to find a man who endured poverty with a noble spirit; and those only should be ashamed of poverty who could not be otherwise than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides rather than to be rich with Callias. This, at any rate, is the story told by Aeschines the Socratic. And Plato[1] maintains that of all those who had great names and reputations at Athens, this man alone was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides squared his politics with virtue.

There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themistocles was in the same plight, and was under accusation before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alcmeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of

[1] *Gorgias*, pp. 518 f., 526.

δυστυχοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε.

XXVI. Τελευτῆσαι δὲ Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασὶν ἐκπλεύσαντα πράξεων ἕνεκα δημοσίων, οἱ δ' Ἀθήνησι γήρᾳ, τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. Κρατερὸς δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηκε. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγήν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀναφῦσαι πλῆθος συκοφαντῶν, οἳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους ἄνδρας διώκοντες ὑπέβαλλον τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολ- 33
2 λῶν ἐπαιρομένων ὑπ' εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἀριστείδην ἁλῶναι δωροδοκίας, Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν κατηγοροῦντος, ὡς, ὅτε τοὺς φόρους ἔταττε, παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων χρήματα λαβόντος· ἐκτῖσαι δ' οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν καταδίκην πεντήκοντα μνῶν οὖσαν ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποθανεῖν. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔγγραφον ὁ Κρατερὸς τεκμήριον παρέσχηκεν, οὔτε δίκην οὔτε ψήφισμα, καίπερ εἰωθὼς ἐπιεικῶς γράφειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας.

3 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι τὰ πλημμεληθέντα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διεξίασι, τὴν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν καὶ τὰ Μιλτιάδου δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους ζημίαν καὶ τὸν Πάχητος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ θάνατον, ἀνελόντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὡς ἡλίσκετο, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγουσι καὶ θρυλοῦσιν, Ἀριστείδου δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐξοστρακισμὸν παρατίθενται, καταδίκης δὲ τοιαύτης οὐδαμοῦ μνημονεύουσι.

his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not grudge him his prosperity.

XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the public service; others at Athens, of old age, honoured and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the Macedonian tells something like this about the death of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded down the noblest and most influential men, and subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme Amphitropé, for having taken money from the Ionians when he was regulating the tributes; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty minas, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no degree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities.

All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he saw that he was convicted,—and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.

XXVII. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάφος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Φαληροῖ δεικνύμενος, ὃν φασι κατασκευάσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ μηδ' ἐντάφια καταλιπόντι. καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκδοθῆναι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγυώσης καὶ προῖκα τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἑκατέρᾳ ψηφισαμένης, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ μνᾶς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ γῆς τοσαῦτα πλέθρα πεφυτευμένης ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἄλλας δὲ δραχμὰς
2 τέσσαρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἀπέταξεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος. ἔτι δὲ Λυσιμάχου θυγατέρα Πολυκρίτην ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, καὶ ταύτῃ σίτησιν ὅσην καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ δὴ τό γε[1] Περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γνησίοις Ἀριστοτέλους θετέον) ἱστοροῦσι Μυρτὼ θυγατριδῆν Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικῆσαι, γυναῖκα μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαβόντι χηρεύουσαν διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεο-
3 μένην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους ἱκανῶς ὁ Παναίτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντείρηκεν· ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει φησὶ μνημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὖ μάλα πένητα Λυσίμαχον, ὃς ἑαυτὸν μὲν[2] ἐκ πινακίου τινὸς ὀνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ἰακχεῖον λεγόμενον καθεζόμενος ἔβοσκε. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ ψήφισμα γράψας ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριώβολον ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος

[1] τό γε Hercher and Blass with F[a]S : τὸ.
[2] ἑαυτὸν μὲν Hercher and Blass with F[a]S : ἑαυτὸν.

XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the prytaneium at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred minas in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,—all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades. And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrité, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the style of their Olympic victors. Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book "On Nobility of Birth" is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessaries of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

And the Phalerean says, in his "Socrates," that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheium. To this man's mother and to her sister, Demetrius persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per

νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμὴν ἑκατέρᾳ τάξαι τῶν γυναικῶν.

4 Καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν οὕτω φροντίσαι τῶν ἐν ἄστει τὸν δῆμον, ὅπου θυγατριδῆν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐν Λήμνῳ πυθόμενοι ταπεινὰ πράττειν ἀνδρὸς ἀποροῦσαν διὰ πενίαν κατήγαγον Ἀθήναζε, καὶ συνοικίσαντες ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων τὸ Ποταμοῖ χωρίον εἰς φερνὴν ἐπέδωκαν. ἧς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι πολλὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται καὶ ζηλοῦται δικαίως.

diem; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself, as he says, assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.

It is not to be wondered at that the people took such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired and lauded.

MARCUS CATO

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΝ

I. Μάρκῳ δὲ Κάτωνί φασιν ἀπὸ Τούσκλου τὸ γένος εἶναι, δίαιταν δὲ καὶ βίον ἔχειν πρὸ τῶν 330
στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν χωρίοις πατρῴοις περὶ Σαβίνους. τῶν δὲ προγόνων παντάπασιν ἀγνώστων γεγονέναι δοκούντων αὐτὸς ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν πατέρα Μάρκον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπαινεῖ, καὶ Κάτωνα τὸν πρόπαππον ἀριστείων πολλάκις τυχεῖν φησι καὶ πέντε πολεμιστὰς ἵππους ἐν μάχαις ἀποβαλόντα τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δι' ἀνδρ-
2 αγαθίαν. εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους μὲν δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀρχομένους δὲ γνωρίζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν καινοὺς προσαγορεύειν ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προσηγόρευον, αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καινὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἔργοις δὲ προγόνων καὶ ἀρεταῖς παμπάλαιος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρότερον οὐ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ Πρίσκος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπώνυμον ἔσχε· Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ τὸν ἔμπειρον κάτον ὀνομάζουσιν.

3 Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός,

MARCUS CATO

I. The family of Marcus Cato, it is said, was of Tusculan origin, though he lived, previous to his career as soldier and statesman, on an inherited estate in the country of the Sabines. His ancestors commonly passed for men of no note whatever, but Cato himself extols his father, Marcus, as a brave man and good soldier. He also says that his grandfather, Cato, often won prizes for soldierly valour, and received from the state treasury, because of his bravery, the price of five horses which had been killed under him in battle. The Romans used to call men who had no family distinction, but were coming into public notice through their own achievements, "new men," and such they called Cato. But he himself used to say that as far as office and distinction went, he was indeed new, but having regard to ancestral deeds of valour, he was oldest of the old. His third name was not Cato at first, but Priscus. Afterwards he got the surname of Cato for his great abilities. The Romans call a man who is wise and prudent, *catus*.

As for his outward appearance, he had reddish hair, and keen grey eyes, as the author of the well-

ὡς ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς παρεμφαίνει·

Πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ θανόντα
Πόρκιον εἰς ἀΐδην Φερσεφόνη δέχεται.

Τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἕξιν αὐτουργίᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ σώφρονι καὶ στρατείαις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συντρόφου γεγονότος πάνυ χρηστικὴν εἶχε, καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν
4 καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ὁμαλῶς συνεστῶσαν. τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὥσπερ δεύτερον σῶμα καὶ τῶν καλῶν, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων[1] ὄργανον ἀνδρὶ μὴ ταπεινῶς βιωσομένῳ μηδ' ἀπράκτως, ἐξηρτύετο καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἐν ταῖς περιοικίσι κώμαις καὶ τοῖς πολιχνίοις ἑκάστοτε συνδικῶν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀγωνιστὴς εἶναι δοκῶν πρόθυμος, εἶτα καὶ ῥήτωρ ἱκανός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου μᾶλλον τοῖς χρωμένοις κατεφαίνετο βάρος τι καὶ φρόνημα περὶ αὐτὸν ἤθους πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ
5 πολιτείας δεόμενον ἡγεμονικῆς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, μισθαρνίας καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαπῶν ἐφαίνετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν τραυμά-
6 των τὸ σῶμα μεστὸν ἐναντίων εἶχε. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα γεγονὼς ἔτη τὴν πρώτην στρατεύσασθαι στρατείαν περὶ ὃν Ἀννίβας χρόνον εὐτυχῶν ἐπέφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

[1] τῶν ἀναγκαίων Hercher and Blass, with Bekker: ἀναγκαῖον.

known epigram ill-naturedly gives us to understand :—

> Red-haired, snapper and biter, his grey eyes flashing defiance,
> Porcius, come to the shades, back will be thrust by their Queen.

His bodily habit, since he was addicted from the very first to labour with his own hands, a temperate mode of life, and military duties, was very serviceable, and disposed alike to vigour and health. His discourse,—a second body, as it were, and, for the use of a man who would live neither obscurely nor idly, an instrument with which to perform not only necessary, but also high and noble services,—this he developed and perfected in the villages and towns about Rome, where he served as advocate for all who needed him, and got the reputation of being, first a zealous pleader, and then a capable orator. Thenceforth the weight and dignity of his character revealed themselves more and more to those who had dealings with him; they saw that he was bound to be a man of great affairs, and have a leading place in the state. For he not only gave his services in legal contests without fee of any sort, as it would seem, but did not appear to cherish even the repute won in such contests as his chief ambition. Nay, he was far more desirous of high repute in battles and campaigns against the enemy, and while he was yet a mere stripling, had his breast covered with honourable wounds. He says himself that he made his first campaign when he was seventeen years old, at the time when Hannibal was consuming Italy with the flames of his successes.[1]

[1] 217 B.C.

Παρεῖχε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῇ μὲν χειρὶ πλήκτην, τῷ δὲ ποδὶ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον, γαῦρον δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ· λόγου δ' ἀπειλῇ καὶ τραχύτητι φωνῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχρῆτο, ὀρθῶς καὶ διανοούμενος καὶ διδάσκων, ὅτι πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ξίφους μᾶλλον καταπλήττεται τοὺς
7 ἐναντίους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πορείαις αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε φέρων τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ θεράπων εἷς εἵπετο τὰ πρὸς δίαιταν αὐτῷ κομίζων, ᾧ λέγεται μηδέποτε δυσκολᾶναι μηδὲ μέμψασθαι παραθέντι ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ συμπαρασκευάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. ὕδωρ δ' ἔπινεν ἐπὶ στρατείας, πλὴν εἴποτε διψήσας περιφλεγῶς ὄξος αἰτήσειεν[1] ἢ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐνδιδούσης ἐπιλάβοι 35
μικρὸν οἰνάριον.

II. Ἦν δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡ γενομένη Μανίου Κουρίου τοῦ τρὶς θριαμβεύσαντος ἔπαυλις. ἐπὶ ταύτην συνεχῶς βαδίζων καὶ θεώμενος τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τὸ λιτόν, ἔννοιαν ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων μέγιστος γενόμενος καὶ τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπαγαγόμενος καὶ Πύρρον ἐξελάσας τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίδιον αὐτὸς ἔσκαπτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔπαυλιν ᾤκει μετὰ τρεῖς
2 θριάμβους. ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἐσχάρᾳ καθήμενον αὐτὸν ἕψοντα γογγυλίδας εὑρόντες οἱ Σαυνιτῶν πρέσβεις ἐδίδοσαν πολὺ χρυσίον· ὁ δ' ἀπεπέμψατο φήσας οὐδὲν χρυσίου δεῖν ᾧ δεῖπνον ἀρκεῖ τοιοῦτον, αὐτῷ μέντοι τοῦ χρυσίον ἔχειν κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς ἔχοντας. ταῦθ' ὁ Κάτων

[1] αἰτήσειεν Blass, with Bekker: ᾔτησεν.

In battle, he showed himself effective of hand, sure and steadfast of foot, and of a fierce countenance. With threatening speech and harsh cries he would advance upon the foe, for he rightly thought, and tried to show others, that often-times such action terrifies the enemy more than the sword. On the march, he carried his own armour on foot, while a single attendant followed in charge of his camp utensils. With this man, it is said, he was never wroth, and never scolded him when he served up a meal, nay, he actually took hold himself and assisted in most of such preparations, provided he was free from his military duties. Water was what he drank on his campaigns, except that once in a while, in a raging thirst, he would call for vinegar, or, when his strength was failing, would add a little wine.

II. Near his fields was the cottage which had once belonged to Manius Curius, a hero of three triumphs. To this he would often go, and the sight of the small farm and the mean dwelling led him to think of their former owner, who, though he had become the greatest of the Romans, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, nevertheless tilled this little patch of ground with his own hands and occupied this cottage, after three triumphs. Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites once found him seated at his hearth cooking turnips, and offered him much gold; but he dismissed them, saying that a man whom such a meal satisfied had no need of gold, and for his part he thought that a more honourable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these

ἐνθυμούμενος ἀπῄει, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάλιν οἶκον ἐφορῶν καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας καὶ δίαιταν ἐπέτεινε τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυτέλειαν.

3 Φαβίου δὲ Μαξίμου τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἑλόντος ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Κάτων στρατευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῷ κομιδῇ μειράκιον ὤν, Νεάρχῳ δέ τινι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ξένῳ χρησάμενος ἐσπούδασε τῶν λόγων μεταλαβεῖν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα διαλεγομένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἷς κέχρηται καὶ Πλάτων, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν ἀποκαλῶν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ, συμφορὰν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα πρώτην, λύσιν δὲ καὶ καθαρμὸν οἷς μάλιστα χωρίζει καὶ ἀφίστησιν αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα παθημάτων λογισμοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγάπησε τὸ λιτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

4 ἄλλως δὲ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὀφιμαθὴς γενέσθαι λέγεται, καὶ πόρρω παντάπασιν ἡλικίας ἐληλακὼς[1] Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας βραχέα μὲν ἀπὸ Θουκυδίδου, πλείονα δ' ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ὠφεληθῆναι. τὰ μέντοι συγγράμματα καὶ δόγμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἱστορίαις ἐπιεικῶς διαπεποίκιλται· καὶ μεθηρμηνευμένα πολλὰ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι καὶ ταῖς γνωμολογίαις τέτακται.

III. Ἦν δέ τις ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων καὶ δυνατός, ἀρετὴν δὲ φυομένην μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι δεινός, εὐμενὴς δὲ καὶ θρέψαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκκος. οὗτος εἶχεν ὁμοροῦντα χωρία τοῖς Κάτωνος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ δίαιταν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ θαυμάσας ἐξηγουμένων, ὅτι

[1] ἡλικίας ἐληλακὼς Hercher and Blass with S: ἡλικίας.

things, and on viewing again his own house and lands and servants and mode of life, would increase the labours of his hands and lop off his extravagancies.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum,[1] it chanced that Cato, who was then a mere stripling, served under him, and being lodged with a certain Nearchus, of the sect of the Pythagoreans, he was eager to know of his doctrines. When he heard this man holding forth as follows, in language which Plato also uses, condemning pleasure as "the greatest incentive to evil," and the body as "the chief detriment to the soul, from which she can release and purify herself only by such reasonings as most do wean and divorce her from bodily sensations," he fell still more in love with simplicity and restraint. Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found a place among his maxims and proverbs.

III. There was at Rome a certain man of the highest birth and greatest influence, who had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem. This man was Valerius Flaccus. He had a farm next to that of Cato, and learned from Cato's servants of their master's laborious and frugal way of living. He was amazed to hear them tell how Cato, early in

[1] 209 B.C.

πρωΐ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζει καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς
2 δεομένοις, ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ἂν μὲν ᾖ χειμών, ἐξωμίδα λαβών, θέρους δὲ γυμνὸς ἐργασάμενος μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐσθίει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ὁμοῦ καθήμενος καὶ πίνει τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον, ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἐπιείκειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετριότητα καί τινας καὶ λόγους ἀποφθεγματικοὺς διαμνημονευόν-
3 των, ἐκέλευσε κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρώμενος καὶ κατανοῶν ἥμερον καὶ ἀστεῖον ἦθος, ὥσπερ φυτὸν ἀσκήσεως καὶ χώρας ἐπιφανοῦς δεόμενον, προετρέψατο καὶ συνέπεισεν ἅψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας. κατελθὼν οὖν εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκτᾶτο θαυμαστὰς καὶ φίλους διὰ τῶν συνηγοριῶν, πολλὴν δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ προστιθέντος χιλιαρχίας ἔτυχε πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐταμίευ-
4 σεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν ἤδη καὶ περιφανὴς αὐτῷ τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας συνεξέδραμεν ἀρχάς, ὕπατός τε μετ' ἐκείνου καὶ πάλιν τιμητὴς γενόμενος.

Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων πολιτῶν Μαξίμῳ Φαβίῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μὲν ὄντι καὶ μεγίστην ἔχοντι δύναμιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς κάλλιστα παραδείγματα
5 προθέμενος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίωνι τῷ μεγάλῳ, νέῳ 33
μὲν ὄντι τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Φαβίου δύναμιν ἀνταίροντι καὶ φθονεῖσθαι δοκοῦντι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι διάφορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταμίας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον συνεκπεμφθείς, ὡς

the morning, went on foot to the market-place and pleaded the cases of all who wished his aid; then came back to his farm, where, clad in a working blouse if it was winter, and stripped to the waist if it was summer, he wrought with his servants, then sat down with them to eat of the same bread and drink of the same wine. They told Valerius many other instances of Cato's fairness and moderation, quoting also sundry pithy sayings of his, until at last Valerius gave command that Cato be invited to dine with him. After this, discovering by converse with him that his nature was gentle and polite, and needed, like a growing tree, only cultivation and room to expand, Valerius urged and at last persuaded him to engage in public life at Rome. Accordingly, taking up his abode in the city, his own efforts as an advocate at once won him admiring friends, and the favour of Valerius brought him great honour and influence, so that he was made military tribune first, and then quaestor. After this, being now launched on an eminent and brilliant career, he shared the highest honours with Valerius, becoming consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Of the elder statesmen, he attached himself most closely to Fabius Maximus, who was of the highest reputation and had the greatest influence, but this was more by way of setting before himself the character and life of the man as the fairest examples he could follow. In the same spirit he did not hesitate to oppose the great Scipio, a youthful rival of Fabius, and thought to be envious of him. When he was sent out with Scipio as quaestor for the war in Africa,[1] he saw that the man indulged in

[1] 204 B.C.

ἑώρα τῇ συνήθει πολυτελείᾳ χρώμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταχορηγοῦντα τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀφειδῶς
6 τῶν χρημάτων, ἐπαρρησιάζετο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης μέγιστον εἶναι φάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι διαφθείρει τὴν πάτριον εὐτέλειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφ' ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὰς τῷ περιόντι τῆς χρείας τρεπομένων. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιτο ταμίου λίαν ἀκριβοῦς πλησίστιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον φερόμενος, πράξεων γάρ, οὐ χρημά-
7 των, τῇ πόλει λόγον ὀφείλειν, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καταβοῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φθοράν τε χρημάτων ἀμυθήτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ μειρακιώδεις ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ θεάτροις, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγοῦντος, ἀλλὰ πανηγυρίζοντος, ἐξειργάσατο πεμφθῆναι δημάρχους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄξοντας εἰς Ῥώμην,
8 ἅνπερ ἀληθεῖς αἱ κατηγορίαι φανῶσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκηπίων ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν νίκην ἐπιδειξάμενος, καὶ φανεὶς ἡδὺς μὲν ἐπὶ σχολῆς συνεῖναι φίλοις, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τῆς διαίτης εἰς τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ μεγάλα ῥάθυμος, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

IV. Τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι πολλὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ηὔξητο, καὶ Ῥωμαῖον αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ Δημοσθένην προσηγόρευον, ὁ δὲ βίος μᾶλλον ὀνομαστὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιβόητος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότης προὔκειτο τοῖς νέοις ἀγώνισμα κοινὸν ἤδη καὶ περισπούδαστον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πάτριον αὐτουργίαν ὑπομένων καὶ δεῖπνον ἀφελὲς καὶ ἄριστον ἄπυρον καὶ λιτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δημοτικὴν ἀσπαζόμενος οἴκησιν καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν

his wonted extravagance, and lavished money without stint upon his soldiery. He therefore made bold to tell him that the matter of expense was not the greatest evil to be complained of, but the fact that he was corrupting the native simplicity of his soldiers, who resorted to wanton pleasures when their pay exceeded their actual needs. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys. Cato therefore left Sicily, and joined Fabius in denouncing before the Senate Scipio's waste of enormous moneys, and his boyish addiction to palaestras and theatres, as though he were not commander of an army, but master of a festival. As a result of these attacks, tribunes were sent to bring Scipio back to Rome, if the charges against him should turn out to be true. Well then, Scipio convinced the tribunes that victory in war depended on the preparations made for it; showed that he could be agreeable in his intercourse with his friends when he had leisure for it, but was never led by his sociability to neglect matters of large and serious import; and sailed off for his war in Africa.

IV. The influence which Cato's oratory won for him waxed great, and men called him a Roman Demosthenes; but his manner of life was even more talked about and noised abroad. For his oratorical ability only set before young men a goal which many already were striving eagerly to attain; but a man who wrought with his own hands, as his fathers did, and was contented with a cold breakfast, a frugal dinner, simple raiment, and a humble dwelling,—one who thought more of not

περιττῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι θαυμάζων
2 σπάνιος ἦν, ἤδη τότε τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν
ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ κρατεῖν
πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πολλὰ
μιγνυμένης ἔθη καὶ βίων παραδείγματα παντοδα-
πῶν ὑποδεχομένης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐθαύμαζον τὸν
Κάτωνα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων θραυο-
μένους καὶ μαλασσομένους ὑπὸ[1] τῶν ἡδονῶν
3 ὁρῶντες, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀήττητον, οὐ μόνον
ἕως ἔτι νέος καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντα
καὶ πολιὸν ἤδη μεθ' ὑπατείαν καὶ θρίαμβον, ὥσπερ
ἀθλητὴν νικηφόρον, ἐγκαρτεροῦντα τῇ τάξει τῆς
ἀσκήσεως καὶ διομαλίζοντα μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.

Ἐσθῆτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτέ φησι φορέσαι πολυ-
τελεστέραν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν, πιεῖν δὲ καὶ στρα-
τηγῶν καὶ ὑπατεύων τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον τοῖς ἐργά-
ταις, ὄψον δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον
ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀσσαρίων τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ
τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἰσχύοι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς
4 στρατείας. ἐπίβλημα δὲ τῶν ποικίλων Βαβυ-
λώνιον ἐκ κληρονομίας κτησάμενος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
δόσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαύλεων αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι
κεκονιαμένην, οὐδένα δὲ πώποτε πρίασθαι δοῦλον
ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ πεντακοσίας, ὡς
ἂν οὐ τρυφερῶν οὐδ' ὡραίων, ἀλλ' ἐργατικῶν καὶ
στερεῶν, οἷον ἱπποκόμων καὶ βοηλατῶν, δεό-
μενος· καὶ τούτους δὲ πρεσβυτέρους γενομένους
ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ μὴ βόσκειν ἀχρήστους.
ὅλως δὲ μηδὲν εὔωνον εἶναι τῶν περιττῶν, ἀλλ'
οὗ τις οὐ δεῖται, κἂν ἀσσαρίου πιπράσκηται,

[1] ὑπὸ Hercher and Blass with S: καὶ ὑπὸ.

wanting the superfluities of life than of possessing them,—such a man was rare. The commonwealth had now grown too large to keep its primitive integrity; the sway over many realms and peoples had brought a large admixture of customs, and the adoption of examples set in modes of life of every sort. It was natural, therefore, that men should admire Cato, when they saw that, whereas other men were broken down by toils and enervated by pleasures, he was victor over both, and this too, not only while he was still young and ambitious, but even in his hoary age, after consulship and triumph. Then, like some victorious athlete, he persisted in the regimen of his training, and kept his mind unaltered to the last.

He tells us that he never wore clothing worth more than a hundred drachmas; that he drank, even when he was praetor or consul, the same wine as his slaves; that as for fish and meats, he would buy thirty asses' worth[1] for his dinner from the public stalls, and even this for the city's sake, that he might not live on bread alone, but strengthen his body for military service; that he once fell heir to an embroidered Babylonian robe, but sold it at once; that not a single one of his cottages had plastered walls; that he never paid more than fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but sturdy workers, such as grooms and herdsmen, and these he thought it his duty to sell when they got oldish, instead of feeding them when they were useless; and that in general, he thought nothing cheap that one could do without, but that what one did not need, even if it cost but a

[1] The *as* corresponded nearly to the English penny.

πολλοῦ νομίζειν· κτᾶσθαι δὲ τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ νεμόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ῥαινόμενα καὶ σαιρόμενα.

V. Ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς μικρολογίαν ἐτίθεντο τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ σωφρονισμῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδοτέρω συστέλλοντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδέχοντο. πλὴν τὸ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὡς ὑποζυγίοις ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γήρως ἐλαύνειν καὶ πιπράσκειν ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν ἤθους ἔγωγε τίθεμαι, καὶ 33
μηδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον οἰομένου κοινώ-
2 νημα τῆς χρείας πλέον ὑπάρχειν. καίτοι τὴν χρηστότητα τῆς δικαιοσύνης πλατύτερον τόπον ὁρῶμεν ἐπιλαμβάνουσαν· νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον χρῆσθαι πεφύκαμεν, πρὸς εὐεργεσίας δὲ καὶ χάριτας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς πλουσίας ἀπορρεῖ τῆς ἡμερότητος. καὶ γὰρ ἵππων ἀπειρηκότων ὑπὸ χρόνου τροφαὶ καὶ κυνῶν οὐ σκυλακεῖαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γηροκομίαι τῷ χρηστῷ προσήκουσιν.

3 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος οἰκοδομῶν τὸν Ἑκατόμπεδον, ὅσας κατενόησεν ἡμιόνους μάλιστα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγκαρτερούσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐλευθέρας νέμεσθαι καὶ ἀφέτους, ὧν μίαν φασὶ καταβαίνουσαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἁμάξας ὑποζυγίοις εἰς ἀκρόπολιν συμπαρατρέχειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐγκελευομένην καὶ συνεξορμῶσαν, ἣν καὶ τρέφεσθαι δημοσίᾳ
4 μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ Κίμωνος ἵππων, αἷς Ὀλύμπια τρὶς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ταφαὶ

penny, was dear; also that he bought lands where crops were raised and cattle herded, not those where lawns were sprinkled and paths swept.

V. These things were ascribed by some to the man's parsimony; but others condoned them in the belief that he lived in this contracted way only to correct and moderate the extravagance of others. However, for my part, I regard his treatment of his slaves like beasts of burden, using them to the uttermost, and then, when they were old, driving them off and selling them, as the mark of a very mean nature, which recognizes no tie between man and man but that of necessity. And yet we know that kindness has a wider scope than justice. Law and justice we naturally apply to men alone; but when it comes to beneficence and charity, these often flow in streams from the gentle heart, like water from a copious spring, even down to dumb beasts. A kindly man will take good care of his horses even when they are worn out with age, and of his dogs, too, not only in their puppyhood, but when their old age needs nursing.

While the Athenians were building the Parthenon, they turned loose for free and unrestricted pasturage such mules as were seen to be most persistently laborious. One of these, they say, came back to the works of its own accord, trotted along by the side of its fellows under the yoke, which were dragging the waggons up to the Acropolis, and even led the way for them, as though exhorting and inciting them on. The Athenians passed a decree that the animal be maintained at the public cost as long as it lived. Then there were the mares of Cimon, with which he won three victories at Olympia; their graves are

πλησίον εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μνημάτων. κύνας δὲ συντρόφους γενομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ξάνθιππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα τῇ τριήρει παρανηξάμενον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δῆμος ἐξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκήδευσεν, ἣν Κυνὸς σῆμα μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν.

5 Οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑποδήμασιν ἢ σκεύεσι τοῖς ψυχὴν ἔχουσι χρηστέον, κοπέντα καὶ κατατριβέντα ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἀπορριπτοῦντας, ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μελέτης ἕνεκα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου προεθιστέον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις πρᾷον εἶναι καὶ μείλιχον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοῦν ἂν ἐργάτην διὰ γῆρας ἀποδοίμην, μή τί γε πρεσβύτερον ἄνθρωπον, ἐκ χώρας συντρόφου καὶ διαίτης συνήθους ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρίδος μεθιστάμενον ἀντὶ κερμάτων μικρῶν, ἄχρηστόν γε τοῖς ὠνουμένοις ὥσπερ τοῖς πιπρά-
6 σκουσι γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὥσπερ νεανιευόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν ἵππον, ᾧ παρὰ τὰς στρατείας ὑπατεύων ἐχρῆτο, φησὶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ναῦλον αὐτοῦ λογίσηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε μεγαλοψυχίας εἴτε μικρολογίας θετέον, ἔξεστι τῷ πείθοντι χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ.

VI. Τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας ὑπερφυῶς θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνήρ· οἷον ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἐλάμβανεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλέον εἰς τὸν μῆνα πυρῶν ἢ τρεῖς Ἀττικοὺς μεδίμνους, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν κριθῶν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔλαττον
2 τριῶν ἡμιμεδίμνων. ἐπαρχίαν δὲ λαβὼν Σαρδόνα, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι

near the tombs of his family. Dogs also that have been close and constant companions of men, have often been buried with honour. Xanthippus, of olden time, gave the dog which swam along by the side of his trireme to Salamis, when the people were abandoning their city, honourable burial on the promontory which is called to this day Cynossema, or Dog's Mound.[1]

We should not treat living creatures like shoes or pots and pans, casting them aside when they are bruised and worn out with service, but, if for no other reason, for the sake of practice in kindness to our fellow men, we should accustom ourselves to mildness and gentleness in our dealings with other creatures. I certainly would not sell even an ox that had worked for me, just because he was old, much less an elderly man, removing him from his habitual place and customary life, as it were from his native land, for a paltry price, useless as he is to those who sell him and as he will be to those who buy him. But Cato, exulting as it were in such things, says that he left in Spain even the horse which had carried him through his consular campaign, that he might not tax the city with the cost of its transportation. Whether, now, these things should be set down to greatness of spirit or littleness of mind, is an open question.

VI. But in other matters, his self-restraint was beyond measure admirable. For instance, when he was in command of an army, he took for himself and his retinue not more than three Attic bushels of wheat a month, and for his beasts of burden, less than a bushel and a half of barley a day. He received Sardinia as his province,[2] and whereas his predecessors

[1] Cf. *Themistocles* x. 6. [2] 198 B.C.

καὶ σκηνώμασι δημοσίοις καὶ κλίναις καὶ ἱματίοις, πολλῇ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ περὶ δεῖπνα δαπάναις καὶ παρασκευαῖς βαρυνόντων, ἐκεῖνος ἄπιστον ἐποίησε τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς εὐτελείας. δαπάνης μὲν γὰρ εἰς οὐδὲν οὐδεμιᾶς προσεδεήθη δημοσίας, ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἄνευ ζεύγους πορευόμενος, εἷς δὲ ἠκολούθει δημόσιος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σπονδεῖον
3 αὐτῷ πρὸς ἱερουργίαν κομίζων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις οὕτως εὔκολος καὶ ἀφελὴς τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα φαινόμενος, αὖθις ἀνταπεδίδου τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀπαραίτητος ὢν ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προστάγμασιν ὄρθιος καὶ αὐθέκαστος, ὥστε μηδέποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκείνοις μήτε φοβερωτέραν μήτε προσφιλεστέραν γενέσθαι.

VII. Τοιαύτην δέ τινα φαίνεται καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδέαν ἔχειν· εὔχαρις γὰρ ἅμα καὶ δεινὸς ἦν, ἡδὺς καὶ καταπληκτικός, φιλοσκώμμων καὶ αὐστηρός, ἀποφθεγματικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτην φησὶν ἔξωθεν ἰδιώτην καὶ σατυρικὸν καὶ ὑβριστὴν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι φαινόμενον ἔνδοθεν σπουδῆς καὶ πραγμάτων μεστὸν εἶναι δάκρυα κινούντων τοῖς 34
2 ἀκροωμένοις καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων. ὅθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Λυσίου λόγῳ μάλιστα φάμενοι προσεοικέναι τὸν Κάτωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰδέας λόγων Ῥωμαϊκῶν[1] αἰσθάνεσθαι προσήκει διακρινοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων βραχέα γράψομεν, οἳ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προσώπῳ,

[1] Ῥωμαϊκῶν Blass with S: ῥητορικῶν.

were wont to charge the public treasury with their pavilions, couches, and apparel, while they oppressed the province with the cost of their large retinues of servants and friends, and of their lavish and elaborate banquets, his simple economy stood out in an incredible contrast. He made no demands whatever upon the public treasury, and made his circuit of the cities on foot, followed by a single public officer, who carried his robe and chalice for sacrifices. And yet, though in such matters he showed himself mild and sparing to those under his authority, in other ways he displayed a dignity and severity which fully corresponded, for in the administration of justice he was inexorable, and in carrying out the edicts of the government was direct and masterful, so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection.

VII. Much the same traits are revealed in the man's oratory. It was at once graceful and powerful, pleasant and compelling, facetious and severe, sententious and belligerent. So Plato says of Socrates[1] that from the outside he impressed his associates as rude, uncouth, and wanton; but within he was full of earnestness, and of matters that moved his hearers to tears and wrung their hearts. Wherefore I know not what they can mean who say that Cato's oratory most resembled that of Lysias. However, such questions must be decided by those who are more capable than I am of discerning the traits of Roman oratory, and I shall now record a few of his famous sayings, believing that men's characters are revealed

[1] *Symposium*, p. 215.

καθάπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαμὲν ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὸ ἦθος.

VIII. Μέλλων ποτὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ὡρμημένον ἀκαίρως ἐπὶ σιτομετρίας καὶ διανομὰς ἀποτρέπειν, ἤρξατο τῶν λόγων οὕτως· "Χαλεπὸν μέν ἐστιν, ὦ πολῖται, πρὸς γαστέρα λέγειν ὦτα οὐκ ἔχουσαν." κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ πωλεῖται
2 πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς. ἐοικέναι δὲ προβάτοις ἔφη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὐ πείθεται, σύμπαντα δ' ἕπεται μετ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἄγουσιν, "Οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσαιτε συμβούλοις χρήσασθαι κατ' ἰδίαν, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰς ἓν συνελθόντες ἄγεσθε." περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος "Πάντες," εἶπεν, "ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες."
3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετενηνεγμένον ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ διὰ τῆς μητρός "Ὦ γύναι," εἶπεν, "Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σύ, σοῦ δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὥστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἐξουσίας, δι' ἣν ἀνόητος ὢν πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται."
4 Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁ Κάτων ἔφη τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ μόνον ταῖς πορφύραις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὰς τιμὰς ἐπιγράφειν. "Ὡς γὰρ οἱ βαφεῖς," ἔφη, "ταύτην μάλιστα βάπτουσιν, ᾗ χαίροντας ὁρῶσιν, οὕτως οἱ νέοι ταῦτα μανθάνουσι καὶ ζηλοῦσιν, οἷς ἂν ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν ἔπαινος ἕπηται."
5 παρεκάλει δ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὲν ἀρετῇ καὶ σωφρο-

much more by their speech than, as some think, by their looks.

VIII. He once wished to dissuade the Roman people from insisting unseasonably upon a distribution of corn, and began his speech with these words: "It is a hard matter, my fellow citizens, to argue with the belly, since it has no ears." Again, inveighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said: "It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox." Again, he said the Romans were like sheep; for as these are not to be persuaded one by one, but all in a body blindly follow their leaders, "so ye," he said, "though as individuals ye would not deign to follow the counsels of certain men, when ye are got together ye suffer yourselves to be led by them." Discoursing on the power of women, he said: "All other men rule their wives; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us." This, however, is a translation from the sayings of Themistocles.[1] He, finding himself much under his son's orders through the lad's mother, said: "Wife, the Athenians rule the Hellenes, I rule the Athenians, thou rulest me, and thy son thee. Therefore let him make sparing use of that authority which makes him, child though he is, the most powerful of the Hellenes."

The Roman people, Cato said, fixed the market value not only of dyes, but also of behaviour. "For," said he, "as dyers most affect that dye which they see pleases you, so your young men learn and practice that which wins your praise." And he exhorted them, in case it was through virtue and temperance that they had become great, to

[1] *Themistocles*, xviii. 4.

σύνῃ γεγόνασι μεγάλοι, μηδὲν[1] μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, εἰ δ' ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ κακίᾳ, μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον· ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἤδη μεγάλους ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονέναι. τοὺς δὲ πολλάκις ἄρχειν σπουδάζοντας ἔφη καθάπερ ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ἀεὶ μετὰ ῥαβδούχων ζητεῖν πορεύεσθαι,
6 μὴ πλανηθῶσιν. ἐπετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἱρουμένοις πολλάκις ἄρχοντας. "Δόξετε γάρ," ἔφη, "μὴ[2] πολλοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοὺς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθαι." περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τινος αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀδόξως βιοῦν δοκοῦντος "Ἡ τούτου μήτηρ," ἔφη, "κατάραν, οὐκ εὐχήν, ἡγεῖται τὸ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπο-
7 λιπεῖν." τὸν δὲ πεπρακότα τοὺς πατρῴους ἀγροὺς παραλίους ὄντας ἐπιδεικνύμενος προσεποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ὡς ἰσχυρότερον τῆς θαλάττης· "Ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἔκλυζεν, οὗτος," ἔφη, "ῥᾳδίως καταπέπωκεν."

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Ῥώμην ἥ τε σύγκλητος ὑπερφυῶς ἀπεδέξατο καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἅμιλλα καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγίνετο, δῆλος ἦν ὁ Κάτων ὑφορώμενος καὶ
8 φυλαττόμενος αὐτόν. εἰπόντος δέ τινος "Ἀλλὰ μὴν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ φιλορρώμαιος," "Ἔστω," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ φύσει τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον ὁ βασιλεὺς σαρκοφάγον ἐστίν." οὐδένα δὲ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζομένων ἔφη βασιλέων[3] ἄξιον εἶναι παραβάλλειν πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Μάνιον Κούριον ἢ Ἀμίλκαν τὸν ἐπικληθέντα

[1] μηδὲν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : μὴ.
[2] μὴ Blass with F^aS : ἢ μὴ.
[3] ἔφη βασιλέων Hercher and Blass with F^aS : βασιλέων.

make no change for the worse; but if it was through intemperance and vice, to change for the better; these had already made them great enough. Of those who were eager to hold high office frequently, he said that like men who did not know the road, they sought to be ever attended on their way by lictors, lest they go astray. He censured his fellow citizens for choosing the same men over and over again to high office. "You will be thought," said he, "not to deem your offices worth much, or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices." Of one of his enemies who had the name of leading a disgraceful and disreputable life, he said: "This man's mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse." Pointing to a man who had sold his ancestral fields lying near the sea, he pretended to admire him, as stronger than the sea. "This man," said he, "has drunk down with ease what the sea found it hard to wash away."

When King Eumenes paid a visit to Rome, the Senate received him with extravagant honours, and the chief men of the city strove who should be most about him. But Cato clearly looked upon him with suspicion and alarm. "Surely," some one said to him, "he is an excellent man, and a friend of Rome." "Granted," said Cato, "but the animal known as king is by nature carnivorous." He said further that not one of the kings whom men so lauded was worthy of comparison with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. His

9 Βάρκαν. αὐτῷ δ' ἔλεγε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φθονεῖν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ νυκτὸς[1] ἀνίσταται καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμελῶν τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζει. βούλεσθαι δ' ἔλεγε μᾶλλον εὖ πράξας ἀποστερηθῆναι χάριν ἢ κακῶς μὴ τυχεῖν κολάσεως, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔφη διδόναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι πλὴν αὑτοῦ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς Βιθυνίαν τρεῖς ἑλο- 34
μένων πρέσβεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν ποδαγρικὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξ ἀνατρήσεως καὶ περικοπῆς κοίλην εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδόκει μωρὸς εἶναι, καταγελῶν ὁ Κάτων εἶπε πρεσβείαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστέλλεσθαι μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν μήτε καρδίαν
2 ἔχουσαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας φυγάδων ἐν τεύχθεὶς διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν δ' ἐνισταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "Ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες," εἶπεν, "ὃ πράττωμεν καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ
3 τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι." ψηφισθείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἃς πρότερον εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλελησμένον.

4 Τοὺς δὲ φρονίμους ἔλεγε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἢ τοὺς ἄφρονας ὑπὸ τῶν φρονίμων

[1] ἐκ νυκτὸς Hercher and Blass with F[a]SD; νυκτὸς.

enemies hated him, he used to say, because he rose every day before it was light and, neglecting his own private matters, devoted his time to the public interests. He also used to say that he preferred to do right and get no thanks, rather than to do ill and get no punishment; and that he had pardon for everybody's mistakes except his own.

IX. The Romans once chose three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had had his head trepanned, and the third was deemed a fool. Cato made merry over this, and said that the Romans were sending out an embassy which had neither feet, nor head, nor heart. His aid was once solicited by Scipio, at the instance of Polybius, in behalf of the exiles from Achaia, and after a long debate upon the question in the Senate, where some favoured and some opposed their return home, Cato rose and said: "Here we sit all day, as if we had naught else to do, debating whether some poor old Greeks shall be buried here or in Achaia." The Senate voted that the men be allowed to return, and a few days afterwards Polybius tried to get admission to that body again, with a proposal that the exiles be restored to their former honours in Achaia, and asked Cato's opinion on the matter. Cato smiled and said that Polybius, as if he were another Odysseus, wanted to go back into the cave of the Cyclops for a cap and belt which he had left there.

Wise men, he said, profited more from fools than fools from wise men; for the wise shun the

ὠφελεῖσθαι· τούτους μὲν γὰρ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἁμαρτίας, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰς τούτων μὴ μιμεῖσθαι κατορθώσεις. τῶν δὲ νέων ἔφη χαίρειν τοῖς ἐρυθριῶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὠχριῶσι, στρατιώτου δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν, τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι κινοῦντος, μεῖζον δὲ ῥέγχον-
5 τος ἢ ἀλαλάζοντος. τὸν δὲ ὑπέρπαχυν κακίζων "Ποῦ δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "σῶμα τοιοῦτον τῇ πόλει γένοιτο χρήσιμον, οὗ τὸ μεταξὺ λαιμοῦ καὶ βουβώνων πᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς κατέχεται;" τῶν δὲ φιληδόνων τινὰ βουλόμενον αὐτῷ συνεῖναι παραιτούμενος, ἔφη μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν μετ' ἀνθρώπου τῆς καρδίας τὴν ὑπερῴαν εὐαισθητοτέραν ἔχοντος. τοῦ δ' ἐρῶντος ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν
6 ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν. μεταμεληθῆναι δ' αὐτὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ γυναικὶ πιστεῦσαι λόγον ἀπόρρητον, ἑτέραν δὲ πλεύσας ὅπου δυνατὸν ἦν πεζεῦσαι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινε. πρὸς δὲ πρεσβύτην πονηρευόμενον "Ἄνθρωπε," εἶπε, "πολλὰ ἔχοντι τῷ γήρᾳ τὰ αἰσχρὰ μὴ προστίθει
7 τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰσχύνην." πρὸς δὲ δήμαρχον ἐν διαβολῇ μὲν φαρμακείας γενόμενον, φαῦλον δὲ νόμον εἰσφέροντα καὶ βιαζόμενον "Ὦ μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "οὐκ οἶδα, πότερον χεῖρόν ἐστιν ὃ κίρνης πιεῖν ἢ ὃ γράφεις κυρῶσαι." βλασφημούμενος δ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου βεβιωκότος ἀσελγῶς καὶ κακῶς "Ἄνισος," εἶπεν, "ἡ πρὸς σέ μοι μάχη ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἀκούεις τὰ κακὰ ῥαδίως καὶ λέγεις εὐχερῶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀηδὲς καὶ ἀκούειν ἄηθες." τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων γένος τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

mistakes of fools, but fools do not imitate the successes of the wise. He said he liked to see blushes on a young man's face rather than pallor, and that he had no use for a soldier who plied his hands on the march, and his feet in battle, and whose snore was louder than his war-cry. Railing at the fat knight, he said, "Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?" A certain epicure wished to enjoy his society, but he excused himself, saying that he could not live with a man whose palate was more sensitive than his heart. As for the lover, he said his soul dwelt in the body of another. And as for repentance, he said he had indulged in it himself but thrice in his whole life: once when he entrusted a secret to his wife; once when he paid ship's fare to a place instead of walking thither; and once when he remained intestate a whole day. To an old man who was steeped in iniquity he said: "Man, old age has disgraces enough of its own; do not add to them the shame of vice." To a tribune of the people who had been accused of using poison, and who was trying to force the passage of a useless bill, he said: "Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills." And when he was reviled by a man who led a life of shameless debauchery, he said: "I fight an unequal battle with you: you listen to abuse calmly, and utter it glibly; while for me it is unpleasant to utter it, and unusual to hear it."

Such, then, is the nature of his famous sayings.

X. Ὕπατος δὲ μετὰ Φλάκκου Οὐαλλερίου τοῦ φίλου καὶ συνήθους ἀποδειχθεὶς ἔλαχε τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἣν Ἐντὸς Ἱσπανίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν καταστρεφομένῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τὰ δ' οἰκειουμένῳ διὰ λόγων πολλὴ στρατιὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αἰσχρῶς ἐκβιασθῆναι. διὸ τῶν ἐγ-
2 γὺς Κελτιβήρων ἐπεκαλεῖτο συμμαχίαν. αἰτούντων δ' ἐκείνων τῆς βοηθείας διακόσια τάλαντα μισθόν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαίους βαρβάροις ἐπικουρίας ὁμολογῆσαι μισθόν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων οὐδὲν ἔφη δεινὸν εἶναι, νικῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδώσειν παρὰ[1] τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡττωμένων δὲ μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτουμένους ἔσεσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦν-
34 τας. ταύτην δὲ τὴν μάχην κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησε,
3 καὶ τἆλλα προὐχώρει λαμπρῶς. Πολύβιος μέν γέ φησι τῶν ἐντὸς Βαίτιος ποταμοῦ πόλεων ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τὰ τείχη κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθῆναι· πάμπολλαι δ' ἦσαν αὗται καὶ γέμουσαι μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν. αὐτὸς δέ φησιν ὁ Κάτων πλείονας εἰληφέναι πόλεις ὧν διήγαγεν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· καὶ τοῦτο κόμπος οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς τετρακόσιαι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν.

4 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν στρατείαν ὠφεληθεῖσιν ἔτι καὶ λίτραν ἀργυρίου κατ' ἄνδρα προσδιένειμεν, εἰπὼν ὡς κρεῖττον εἴη πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ὀλίγους ἔχοντας ἐπανελθεῖν. εἰς δ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἁλισκομένων οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν λέγει πλὴν ὅσα πέπωκεν ἢ βέβρωκε. "Καὶ οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι," φησί, "τοὺς

[1] παρὰ Hercher and Blass with F^a S : ἀπὸ.

X. Having been elected consul[1] with Valerius Flaccus, his intimate friend, the province which the Romans call Hither Spain was allotted to his charge. Here, while he was subduing some of the tribes, and winning over others by diplomacy, a great host of Barbarians fell upon him, and threatened to drive him disgracefully out of the province. He therefore begged the neighbouring Celtiberians to become his allies. On their demanding two hundred talents pay for such assistance, all his officers thought it intolerable that Romans should agree to pay Barbarians for assistance. But Cato said there was nothing terrible in it; should they be victorious, they could pay the price with the spoils taken from the enemy, and not out of their own purse, whereas, should they be vanquished, there would be nobody left either to pay or to ask the price. In this battle he was completely victorious, and the rest of his campaign was a brilliant success. Polybius indeed says that in a single day the walls of all the cities on this side the river Baetis—and they were very many, and full of warlike men—were torn down at his command. And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four hundred of them.

His soldiers got large booty in this campaign, and he gave each one of them a pound of silver besides, saying that it was better to have many Romans go home with silver in their pockets than a few with gold. But in his own case, he says that no part of the booty fell to him, except what he ate and drank. "Not that I find fault," he says, "with those who

[1] 195 B.C.

ὠφελεῖσθαι ζητοῦντας ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον περὶ ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἢ περὶ χρημάτων τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις ἁμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς
5 φιλαργυρωτάτοις περὶ φιλαργυρίας." οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε καθαροὺς παντὸς λήμματος. ἦσαν δὲ πέντε θεράποντες ἐπὶ στρατείας σὺν αὐτῷ. τούτων εἷς ὄνομα Πάκκιος ἠγόρασε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τρία παιδάρια· τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος αἰσθομένου, πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπήγξατο. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὁ Κάτων ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν τιμήν.

XI. Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Σκηπίων ὁ μέγας, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ βουλόμενος ἐνστῆναι κατορθοῦντι καὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις ὑπολαβεῖν, διεπράξατο τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνης ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχος. σπεύσας δ' ὡς ἐνῆν τάχιστα κατέπαυσε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν σπείρας ὁπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς προπομποὺς κατεστρέψατο μὲν τὸ Λακετανῶν ἔθνος, ἑξακοσίους δὲ τῶν ηὐτομοληκό-
2 των κομισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' οἷς σχετλιάζοντα τὸν Σκηπίωνα κατειρωνευόμενος οὕτως ἔφη τὴν Ῥώμην ἔσεσθαι μεγίστην, τῶν μὲν ἐνδόξων καὶ μεγάλων τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πρωτεῖα μὴ μεθιέντων τοῖς ἀσημοτέροις, τῶν δ' ὥσπερ αὐτός ἐστι δημοτικῶν ἁμιλλωμένων ἀρετῇ πρὸς τοὺς τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ προήκοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ κινεῖν τῶν διῳκημένων ὑπὸ Κάτωνος, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῷ Σκηπίωνι τῆς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀφελοῦσα δόξης ἐν ἀπραξίᾳ καὶ σχολῇ μάτην

seek to profit by such a case, but I prefer to strive in bravery with the bravest, rather than in wealth with the richest, and in greed for money with the greediest." And he strove to keep not only himself, but also his associates, free from all taint of gain. He had five attendants with him in the field. One of these, whose name was Paccus, bought three boys for his own account from among the public prisoners, but finding that Cato was aware of the transaction, or ever he had come into his presence, went and hanged himself. Cato sold the boys, and restored the money to the public treasury.

XI. While Cato still tarried in Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to obstruct the current of his successes and take away from him the administration of affairs in Spain, got himself appointed his successor in command of that province. Then he set out with all the speed possible, and brought Cato's command to an end. But Cato took five cohorts of men-at-arms and five hundred horsemen as escort on his way home, and on the march subdued the tribe of the Lacetanians, and put to death six hundred deserters whom they delivered up to him. Scipio was enraged at this proceeding, but Cato, treating him with mock humility, said that only then would Rome be at her greatest, when her men of high birth refused to yield the palm of virtue to men of lower rank, and when plebeians like himself contended in virtue with their superiors in birth and reputation. However, in spite of Scipio's displeasure, the Senate voted that no change whatever be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged, and so the administration of Scipio was marked by inactivity and idleness, and detracted from his own,

3 διῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων θριαμβεύσας οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἁμιλλωμένων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας τιμὰς ἐξίκωνται καὶ τύχωσιν ὑπατείας καὶ θριάμβων, ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ σχολὴν συσκευασάμενοι τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπίασιν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξανῆκε καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρῶτον ἁπτομένοις πολιτείας καὶ διψῶσι τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παρεῖχε καὶ φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ πολίταις, οὔτε τὰς συνηγορίας οὔτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπειπάμενος.

XII. Τιβερίῳ μὲν οὖν Σεμπρωνίῳ τὰ περὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ Ἴστρον ὑπατεύοντι πρεσβεύων συγκατειργάσατο, Μανίῳ δ' Ἀκιλίῳ χιλιαρχῶν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν συνεξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φοβήσαντα Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐδένα ἕτερον μετ' Ἀννίβαν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίαν, ὅσην ὁ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος εἶχεν, ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνειληφώς, ἔθνη τε πάμπολλα καὶ μάχιμα βαρβάρων ὑπήκοα πεποιημένος, ἐπῆρτο συμπεσεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡς μόνοις ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιομάχοις
2 οὖσιν. εὐπρεπῆ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, οὐδὲν δεομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους χάριτι τῇ 34
Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων νεωστὶ γεγονότας, διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. καὶ σάλον εὐθὺς ἡ Ἑλλὰς εἶχε καὶ μετέωρος ἦν ἐλπίσι διαφθειρο-
3 μένη βασιλικαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν. ἔπεμπεν οὖν πρέσβεις ὁ Μάνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα τῶν νεωτεριζόντων Τίτος Φλαμινῖνος

rather than from Cato's reputation. Cato, on the other hand, celebrated a triumph.[1] Most men who strive more for reputation than for virtue, when once they have attained the highest honours of consulship and triumphs, straightway adjust their future lives to the enjoyment of a pleasurable ease, and give up their public careers. But Cato did not thus remit and dismiss his virtue, nay, rather, like men first taking up the public service and all athirst for honour and reputation, he girt his loins anew, and held himself ever ready to serve his friends and fellow-citizens, either in the forum or in the field.

XII. And so it was that he assisted Tiberius Sempronius the consul in subduing the regions in Thrace and on the Danube, acting as his ambassador; and as legionary tribune under Manius Acilius, he marched into Greece against Antiochus the Great, who gave the Romans more to fear than any man after Hannibal. For he won back almost all of Seleucus Nicator's former dominions in Asia, reduced to subjection many warlike nations of Barbarians, and was eager to engage the Romans, whom he deemed the only worthy foemen left for him. So he crossed into Greece with an army, making the freeing of the Greeks a specious ground for war. This they did not need at all, since they had recently been made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians by grace of the Romans. Greece was at once a stormy sea of hopes and fears, being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of royal bounty. Accordingly, Manius sent envoys to the several cities. Most of those which were unsettled in their allegiance Titus Flamininus restrained

[1] 194 B.C.

ἔσχεν ἄνευ ταραχῆς καὶ κατεπράϋνεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Κάτων δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Πατρεῖς, ἔτι δ' Αἰγιεῖς παρεστήσατο.

4 Πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνον ἐν Ἀθήναις διέτριψε. καὶ λέγεται μέν τις αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι λόγος, ὃν Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἶπεν, ὡς ζηλῶν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων τῆς τε πόλεως διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἡδέως γεγονὼς θεατής· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐμμένων δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις καὶ καταγελῶν τῶν τὰ Ἑλ-
5 ληνικὰ τεθαυμακότων. Ποστούμιον γοῦν Ἀλβῖνον ἱστορίαν Ἑλληνιστὶ γράψαντα καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενον ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπών, δοτέον εἶναι τὴν συγγνώμην, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ψηφισαμένων ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. θαυμάσαι δέ φησι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ τάχος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς φράσεως· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξέφερε βραχέως, τὸν ἑρμηνέα μακρῶς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν· τὸ δ' ὅλον οἴεσθαι τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸ χειλέων, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ καρδίας φέρεσθαι.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐμφράξας τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας στενὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοφυέσι τῶν τόπων ἐρύμασι προσβαλὼν χαρακώματα καὶ διατειχίσματα, καθῆστο τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκεκλεικέναι νομίζων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ στόμα βιάζεσθαι παντάπασιν ἀπεγίνωσκον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν δὲ Περσικὴν ἐκείνην περιήλυσιν καὶ κύκλωσιν ὁ

without ado, and quieted down, as I have written in his *Life*,[1] but Corinth, Patrae, and Aegium were brought over to Rome by Cato.

He also spent much time at Athens. And we are told that a certain speech of his is extant, which he addressed to the Athenian people in Greek, declaring that he admired the virtues of the ancient Athenians, and was glad to behold a city so beautiful and grand as theirs. But this is not true. On the contrary, he dealt with the Athenians through an interpreter. He could have spoken to them directly, but he always clung to his native ways, and mocked at those who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek. For instance, he poked fun at Postumius Albinus, who wrote a history in Greek, and asked the indulgence of his readers. Cato said they might have shown him indulgence had he undertaken his task in consequence of a compulsory vote of the Amphictyonic Assembly. Moreover, he says the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. For what he himself set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many words; and on the whole he thought the words of the Greeks were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in their hearts.

XIII. Now Antiochus had blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae with his army,[2] adding trenches and walls to the natural defences of the place, and sat there, thinking that he had locked the war out of Greece. And the Romans did indeed despair utterly of forcing a direct passage. But Cato, calling to mind the famous compass and circuit of the pass

[1] Chapters xv–xvii. [2] 191 B.C.

Κάτων εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος ἐξώδευσε νύκτωρ,
2 ἀναλαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνω
προελθόντων ὁ καθοδηγῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἐξέπεσε
τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τόποις ἀπόροις καὶ
κρημνώδεσι δεινὴν ἀθυμίαν καὶ φόβον ἐνειργάσατο
τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὁρῶν ὁ Κάτων τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ περι-
3 μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Λεύκιόν τινα Μάλλιον, ἄνδρα
δεινὸν ὀρειβατεῖν, παραλαβὼν ἐχώρει πολυπόνως
καὶ παραβόλως ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ βαθείᾳ,
κοτίνοις[1] καὶ πάγοις ἀνατεταμένοις διασπάσματα
πολλὰ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἀσάφειαν ἐχούσης, ἕως
ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀτραπόν, ὡς ᾤοντο, κάτω περαί-
νουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἔθεντο
σημεῖα πρός τινας εὐσκόπους κεραίας ὑπὲρ τὸ
4 Καλλίδρομον ἀνεχούσας. οὕτω δὲ πάλιν ἐπαν-
ελθόντες ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνέλαβον, καὶ
πρὸς τὰ σημεῖα προάγοντες ἥψαντο μὲν ἐκείνης
τῆς ἀτραποῦ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πορείαν,
μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε φάραγγος
ὑπολαμβανούσης. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀπορία καὶ δέος
οὐκ ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ συνορώντων ὅτι πλησίον
ἐτύγχανον τῶν πολεμίων γεγονότες. ἤδη δὲ διέ-
λαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ φθογγῆς τις ἔδοξεν ἐπακοῦσαι,
τάχα δὲ καὶ καθορᾶν Ἑλληνικὸν χάρακα καὶ
5 προφυλακὴν ὑπὸ τὸ κρημνῶδες. οὕτως οὖν ἐπι-
στήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κάτων ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς Φιρμα-
νούς, οἷς ἀεὶ πιστοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ προθύμοις.
συνδραμόντων δὲ καὶ περιστάντων αὐτὸν ἀθρόων

[1] κοτίνοις MSS.; κολωνοῖς (*hills*) Bekker, adopting the correction of Coraës.

which the Persians had once made, took a considerable force and set out under cover of darkness. They climbed the heights, but their guide, who was a prisoner of war, lost the way, and wandered about in impracticable and precipitous places until he had filled the soldiers with dreadful dejection and fear. Cato, seeing their peril, bade the rest remain quietly where they were, while he himself, with a certain Lucius Manlius, an expert mountain-climber, made his way along, with great toil and hazard, in the dense darkness of a moonless night, his vision much impeded and obscured by wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until at last they came upon a path. This, they thought, led down to the enemy's camp. So they put marks and signs on some conspicuous cliffs which towered over Mount Callidromus, and then made their way back again to the main body. This too they conducted to the marks and signs, struck into the path indicated by these, and started forward. But when they had gone on a little way, the path failed them, and a ravine yawned to receive them. Once more dejection and fear were rife. They did not know and could not see that they were right upon the enemy whom they sought. But presently gleams of daylight came, here and there a man thought he heard voices, and soon they actually saw a Greek outpost entrenched at the foot of the cliffs. So then Cato halted his forces there, and summoned the men of Firmum to a private conference. These soldiers he had always found trusty and zealous in his service. When they had run up and stood grouped about him,

εἶπεν· "Ἄνδρα χρῄζω λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ζῶντα καὶ πυθέσθαι, τίνες οἱ προφυλάττοντες οὗτοι, πόσον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, τίς ὁ τῶν ἄλλων διάκοσμος ἢ τάξις καὶ παρασκευή, μεθ' ἧς ὑπομένουσαν ἡμᾶς.
6 τὸ δ' ἔργον ἅρπαγμα δεῖ τάχους γενέσθαι καὶ τόλμης, ᾗ καὶ λέοντες ἄνοπλοι θαρροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν θηρίων βαδίζουσι." ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτόθεν ὀρούσαντες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, οἱ Φιρμανοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς προφυλακάς· καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι πάντας μὲν διετάραξαν καὶ διεσκέδασαν, ἕνα δ' αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις 34
7 ἁρπάσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν τῷ Κάτωνι. παρὰ τούτου μαθών, ὡς ἡ μὲν ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κάθηται μετ' αὐτοῦ[1] τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες οὗτοι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Αἰτωλῶν εἰσιν ἐξακόσιοι λογάδες, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ἅμα σάλπιγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ, πρῶτος σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν. οἱ δ' ὡς εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπιφερομένους, φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον κατεπίμπλασαν ταραχῆς ἅπαντας.[2]

XIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μανίου κάτωθεν πρὸς τὰ διατειχίσματα βιαζομένου καὶ τοῖς στενοῖς προσβάλλοντος ἀθρόαν τὴν δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὸ στόμα λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἐκτιναχθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀπέστρεψε τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω, περιαλγὴς γενόμενος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ
2 μέρος οὐδὲν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπόρους καὶ ἀμηχάνους τῆς φυγῆς ὁδοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἐχούσης, ἑλῶν βαθέων καὶ πετρῶν ἀπο-

[1] μετ' αὐτοῦ Blass with S: μετὰ. [2] ἅπαντας Sintenis[2] with C; Bekker reads ἅπαντα, with Sintenis[1] and Coraës.

he said: "I must take one of the enemy's men alive, and learn from him who they are that form this advance guard, what their number is, and with what disposition and array their main body awaits us. But the task demands the swift and bold leap of lions fearlessly rushing all unarmed upon the timorous beasts on which they prey." So spake Cato, and the Firmians instantly started, just as they were, rushed down the mountain-side, and ran upon the enemy's sentinels. Falling upon them unexpectedly, they threw them all into confusion and scattered them in flight; one of them they seized, arms and all, and delivered him over to Cato. From the captive Cato learned that the main force of the enemy was encamped in the pass with the king himself, and that the detachment guarding the pass over the mountains was composed of six hundred picked Aetolians. Despising their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against them at once, with bray of trumpet and battle-cry, being himself first to draw his sword. But when the enemy saw his men pouring down upon them from the cliffs, they fled to the main army, and filled them all with confusion.

XIV. Meanwhile Manius also, down below, threw his whole force forward into the pass and stormed the enemy's fortifications. Antiochus, being hit in the mouth with a stone which knocked his teeth out, wheeled his horse about for very anguish. Then his army gave way everywhere before the Roman onset. Although flight for them meant impracticable roads and helpless wanderings, while deep marshes and steep cliffs threatened those who

τόμων τὰ πτώματα καὶ τὰς ὀλισθήσεις ὑποδεχομένων, εἰς ταῦτα διὰ τῶν στενῶν ὑπερχεόμενοι καὶ συνωθοῦντες ἀλλήλους φόβῳ πληγῆς καὶ σιδήρου πολεμίων αὑτοὺς διέφθειρον.

Ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀεὶ μέν τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδὴς καὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς μεγαλαυχίαν ὡς ἐπακολούθημα τῆς μεγαλουργίας οὐκ ἔφευγε, πλεῖστον δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις ὄγκον
3 περιτέθεικε, καί φησι τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν αὐτὸν τότε διώκοντα καὶ παίοντα τοὺς πολεμίους παραστῆναι μηδὲν ὀφείλειν Κάτωνα τῷ δήμῳ τοσοῦτον, ὅσον Κάτωνι τὸν δῆμον, αὐτόν τε Μάνιον τὸν ὕπατον θερμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔτι θερμῷ περιπλακέντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὡς οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς οὔθ' ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἐξισώσειε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ταῖς Κά-
4 τωνος εὐεργεσίαις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέμπετο τῶν ἠγωνισμένων αὐτάγγελος· καὶ διέπλευσε μὲν εἰς Βρεντέσιον εὐτυχῶς, μιᾷ δ' ἡμέρᾳ διελάσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ τέσσαρας ἄλλας ὁδεύσας πεμπταῖος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτος ἀπήγγειλε τὴν νίκην. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπλησεν εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυσιῶν, φρονήματος δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὡς πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατεῖν δυνάμενον.

XV. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολεμικῶν πράξεων τοῦ Κάτωνος αὗται σχεδόν εἰσιν ἐλλογιμώταται· τῆς δὲ πολιτείας φαίνεται τὸ περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν πονηρῶν μόριον οὐ μικρᾶς ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἡγησάμενος. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐδίωξε πολλοὺς καὶ διώκουσιν ἑτέροις συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὅλως διώκοντας,

slipped and fell, still, they poured along through the pass into these, crowding one another on in their fear of the enemy's deadly weapons, and so destroyed themselves.

Cato, who was ever rather generous, it would seem, in his own praises, and did not hesitate to follow up his great achievements with boastings equally great, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says that those who saw him at that time pursuing the enemy and hewing them down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome than Rome to Cato; also that the consul Manius himself, flushed with victory, threw his arms about him, still flushed with his own victory, and embraced him a long time, crying out for joy that neither he himself nor the whole Roman people could fittingly requite Cato for his benefactions. Immediately after the battle he was sent to Rome as the messenger of his own triumphs. He had a fair passage to Brundisium, crossed the peninsula from there to Tarentum in a single day, travelled thence four days more, and on the fifth day after landing reached Rome, where he was the first to announce the victory. He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices, and the people with the proud feeling that it was able to master every land and sea.

XV. These are perhaps the most remarkable features of Cato's military career. In political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions, as

2 ὡς ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα τοὺς περὶ Πετίλλιον. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπ' οἴκου τε μεγάλου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ ποιησάμενον ὑπὸ πόδας τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀφῆκε· Λεύκιον δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων συστὰς καταδίκῃ περιέβαλε χρημάτων πολλῶν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, ἣν οὐκ ἔχων ἐκεῖνος ἀπολύσασθαι καὶ κινδυνεύων δεθῆναι μόλις ἐπικλήσει τῶν δημάρχων ἀφείθη.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεανίσκῳ τινὶ τεθνηκότος πατρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἠτιμωκότι καὶ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἀπαντήσας ὁ Κάτων δεξιώσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα χρὴ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐναγίζειν, οὐκ ἄρνας οὐδ' ἐρίφους, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν δάκρυα καὶ καταδίκας. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ περιῆν ἀθῷος, ἀλλ' ὅπου τινὰ λαβὴν παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, κρινόμενος καὶ
4 κινδυνεύων διετέλει. λέγεται γὰρ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπούσας τῶν πεντήκοντα φυγεῖν δίκας, μίαν δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν[1] ἐξ ἔτη καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονώς· ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν, ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἐν ἄλλοις βεβιωκότα ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἄλλοις 345
ἀπολογεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἀγώνων, τεσσάρων δ' ἄλλων ἐνιαυτῶν διελθόντων Σερουίου Γάλβα κατηγόρησεν ἐνενήκοντα
5 γεγονὼς ἔτη. κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὡς ὁ Νέστωρ εἰς

[1] τὴν τελευταίαν Hercher and Blass with F^a^S : τελευταίαν.

for instance Petillius against Scipio. That great man, however, trampled the accusations against him under foot, as the splendour of his house and his own inherent loftiness of spirit prompted him to do, and Cato, unable to secure his capital conviction, dropped the case. But he so co-operated with the accusers of Lucius, Scipio's brother, as to have him condemned to pay a large fine to the state. This debt Lucius was unable to meet, and was therefore liable to imprisonment. Indeed, it was only at the intercession of the tribunes that he was at last set free.

We are also told that a certain young man, who had got a verdict of civil outlawry against an enemy of his dead father, was passing through the forum on the conclusion of the case, and met Cato, who greeted him and said: "These are the sacrifices we must bring to the spirits of our parents; not lambs and kids, but the condemnations and tears of their enemies." However, he himself did not go unscathed, but wherever in his political career he gave his enemies the slightest handle, he was all the while suffering prosecutions and running risk of condemnation. It is said that he was defendant in nearly fifty cases, and in the last one when he was eighty-six years of age. It was in the course of this that he uttered the memorable saying: "It is hard for one who has lived among men of one generation, to make his defence before those of another." And even with this case he did not put an end to his forensic contests, but four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. Indeed, he may be said, like Nestor,

τριγονίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι κατελθεῖν. Σκηπίωνι γάρ, ὡς λέλεκται, τῷ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ διερισάμενος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διέτεινεν εἰς Σκηπίωνα τὸν νέον, ὃς ἦν ἐκείνου κατὰ ποίησιν υἱωνός, υἱὸς δὲ Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας καταπολεμήσαντος.

XVI. Τῆς δ' ὑπατείας κατόπιν ἔτεσι δέκα τιμητείαν ὁ Κάτων παρήγγειλε. κορυφὴ δέ τίς ἐστι τιμῆς ἁπάσης ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις, ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τοὺς βίους ἐξέτασιν. οὔτε γὰρ γάμον οὔτε παιδοποιΐαν τινὸς οὔτε δίαιταν οὔτε συμπόσιον ᾤοντο δεῖν ἄκριτον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐπιθυμίας
2 ἔχοι καὶ προαιρέσεως, ἀφεῖσθαι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις νομίζοντες ἢ ταῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐνορᾶσθαι, φύλακα καὶ σωφρονιστὴν καὶ κολαστὴν τοῦ μηδένα καθ' ἡδονὰς ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ συνήθη βίον ᾑροῦντο τῶν καλουμένων πατρικίων ἕνα καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἕνα. τιμητὰς δὲ τούτους προσηγόρευον, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀφελέσθαι μὲν ἵππον, ἐκβαλεῖν δὲ συγκλήτου τὸν
3 ἀκολάστως βιοῦντα καὶ ἀτάκτως. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὰ τιμήματα τῶν οὐσιῶν λαμβάνοντες ἐπεσκόπουν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διέκρινον· ἄλλας τε μεγάλας ἔχει δυνάμεις ἡ ἀρχή.

Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνι πρὸς τὴν παραγγελίαν

to have been vigorous and active among three generations. For after many political struggles with Scipio the Great, as told above, he lived to be contemporary with Scipio the Younger, who was the Elder's grandson by adoption, and the son of that Paulus Aemilius who subdued Perseus and the Macedonians.[1]

XVI. Ten years after his consulship,[2] Cato stood for the censorship. This office towered, as it were, above every other civic honour, and was, in a way, the culmination of a political career. The variety of its powers was great, including that of examining into the lives and manners of the citizens. Its creators thought that no one should be left to his own devices and desires, without inspection and review, either in his marrying, or in the begetting of his children, or in the ordering of his daily life, or in the entertainment of his friends. Nay, rather, thinking that these things revealed a man's real character more than did his public and political career, they set men in office to watch, admonish, and chastise, that no one should turn aside to wantonness and forsake his native and customary mode of life. They chose to this office one of the so-called patricians, and one of the plebeians. These officers were called censors, and they had authority to degrade a knight, or to expel a senator who led an unbridled and disorderly life. They also revised the assessments of property, and arranged the citizens in lists according to their social and political classes. There were other great powers also connected with the office.

Therefore, when Cato stood for it, nearly all

[1] In the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. [2] 184 B.C.

ἀπήντησαν ἐνιστάμενοι σχεδὸν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδας ὁ φθόνος ἐλύπει, παντάπασιν οἰομένους προπηλακίζεσθαι τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀδόξων εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τιμὴν καὶ δύνα-
4 μιν ἀναβιβαζομένων, οἱ δὲ μοχθηρὰ συνειδότες αὑτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν ἐθῶν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν αὐστηρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐσομένην. διὸ συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἑπτὰ κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀντιπάλους τῷ Κάτωνι, θεραπεύοντας ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς δὴ μαλακῶς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄρχεσθαι
5 δεόμενον. τοὐναντίον δ' ὁ Κάτων οὐδεμίαν ἐνδιδοὺς ἐπιείκειαν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἀπειλῶν τε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ κεκραγὼς μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ χρῄζειν τὴν πόλιν, ἠξίου τοὺς πολλούς, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, μὴ τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν σφοδρότατον αἱρεῖσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἕνα Φλάκκον Οὐαλλέριον· μετ' ἐκείνου γὰρ οἴεσθαι μόνου τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν ὥσπερ ὕδραν τέμνων καὶ ἀποκαίων προὔργου τι ποιήσειν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁρᾶν ἕκαστον ἄρξαι κακῶς βιαζόμενον, ὅτι τοὺς καλῶς
6 ἄρξοντας δέδοικεν. οὕτω δ' ἄρα μέγας ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιος δημαγωγῶν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡδεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς

the best known and most influential men of the senatorial party united to oppose him. The men of noble parentage among them were moved by jealousy, thinking that nobility of birth would be trampled in the mire if men of ignoble origin forced their way up to the summits of honour and power; while those who were conscious of base practices and of a departure from ancestral customs, feared the severity of the man, which was sure to be harsh and inexorable in the exercise of power. Therefore, after due consultation and preparation, they put up in opposition to Cato seven candidates for the office, who sought the favour of the multitude with promises of mild conduct in office, supposing, forsooth, that it wanted to be ruled with a lax and indulgent hand. Cato, on the contrary, showed no complaisance whatever, but plainly threatened wrong-doers in his speeches, and loudly cried that the city had need of a great purification. He adjured the people, if they were wise, not to choose the most agreeable physician, but the one who was most in earnest. He himself, he said, was such a physician, and so was Valerius Flaccus, of the patricians. With him as colleague, and him alone, he thought he could cut and sear to some purpose the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of the time. As for the rest of the candidates, he saw that they were all trying to force their way into the office in order to administer it badly, since they feared those who would administer it well. And so truly great was the Roman people, and so worthy of great leaders, that they did not fear Cato's rigour and haughty independence, but rejected rather those agreeable candidates who,

χάριν ἅπαντα ποιήσειν δοκοῦντας ἀπορρίψας ἑλέσθαι μετὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸν Φλάκκον, ὥσπερ οὐκ αἰτοῦντος ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἤδη καὶ προστάττοντος ἀκροώμενος.

XVII. Προέγραψε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων τῆς συγκλήτου τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ φίλον Λεύκιον Οὐαλλέριον Φλάκκον, ἐξέβαλε δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἄλλους τε συχνοὺς καὶ Λεύκιον Κοΐντιον, ὕπατον μὲν ἑπτὰ πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς γεγενημένον, ὃ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν ὑπατείας μεῖζον, ἀδελφὸν Τίτου Φλαμινίνου τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Φίλιππον.
2 αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἔσχε τοιαύτην. μειράκιον 340
ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς ὥρας ἑταιροῦν ἀνειληφὼς ὁ Λεύκιος ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε καὶ συνεπήγετο στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης, ὅσην οὐδεὶς εἶχε τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτῷ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων. ἐτύγχανε μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος ὑπατικῆς ἐπαρχίας· ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ τινὶ τὸ μειράκιον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, συγκατακείμενον ἄλλην τε κολακείαν ἐκίνει πρὸς ἄνθρωπον[1] ἐν οἴνῳ ῥᾳδίως ἀγόμενον, καὶ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔλεγεν "ὥστ'," ἔφη, "θέας οὔσης οἴκοι μονομάχων οὐ τεθεαμένος πρότερον ἐξώρμησα πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἐπιθυμῶν ἰδεῖν ἄνθρωπον
3 σφαττόμενον." ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀντιφιλοφρονούμενος "Ἀλλὰ τούτου γε χάριν," εἶπε, "μή μοι κατάκεισο λυπούμενος, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰάσομαι." καὶ κελεύσας ἕνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀχθῆναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἔχοντα

[1] πρὸς ἄνθρωπον Blass with F[a]SC : πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

it was believed, would do every thing to please them, and elected Flaccus to the office along with Cato.[1] To Cato they gave ear, not as to one soliciting office, but as to one already in office and issuing his decrees.

XVII. As censor, then, Cato made Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his colleague and friend, chief senator. He also expelled many members of the Senate, including Lucius Quintius. This man had been consul seven years before, and, a thing which gave him more reputation than the consulship even, was brother of the Titus Flamininus who conquered King Philip.[2] The reason for his expulsion was the following There was a youth who, ever since his boyhood, had been the favourite of Lucius. This youth Lucius kept ever about him, and took with him on his campaigns in greater honour and power than any one of his nearest friends and kinsmen had. He was once administering the affairs of his consular province, and at a certain banquet this youth, as was his wont, reclined at his side, and began to pay his flatteries to a man who, in his cups, was too easily led about. "I love you so much," he said, "that once, when there was a gladiatorial show at home, a thing which I had never seen, I rushed away from it to join you, although my heart was set on seeing a man slaughtered." "Well, for that matter," said Lucius, "don't lie there with any grudge against me, for I will cure it." Thereupon he commanded that one of the men who were lying under sentence of death be brought to the banquet, and that a lictor with an axe stand by his side. Then he

[1] 184 B.C. [2] At Cynoscephalae, 198 B.C.

πέλεκυν παραστῆναι, πάλιν ἠρώτησε τὸν ἐρώμενον, εἰ βούλεται τυπτόμενον θεάσασθαι. φήσαντος δὲ βούλεσθαι, προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον.

4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ ὅ γε Κικέρων αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα διηγούμενον ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως διαλόγῳ πεποίηκεν· ὁ δὲ Λίβιος αὐτόμολον εἶναί φησι Γαλάτην τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν δὲ Λεύκιον οὐ δι' ὑπηρέτου κτεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ χειρί, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ[1] γεγράφθαι Κάτωνος.

5 Ἐκβληθέντος οὖν τοῦ Λευκίου τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βαρέως φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέφυγε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἐκβολῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ διηγησαμένου τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπεχείρει μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος ἀρνεῖσθαι, προκαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτω-
6 νος εἰς ὁρισμὸν ἀνεδύετο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄξια παθεῖν κατεγνώσθη· θέας δ' οὔσης ἐν θεάτρῳ τὴν ὑπατικὴν χώραν παρελθὼν καὶ πορρωτάτω που καθεσθεὶς οἶκτον ἔσχε παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ βοῶντες ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν μετελθεῖν, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸν ἐπανορθούμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τὸ γεγενημένον.

7 Ἄλλον δὲ βουλῆς ἐξέβαλεν ὑπατεύσειν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα, Μανίλλιον, ὅτι τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁρώσης τῆς θυγατρὸς κατεφίλησεν. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφη τὴν γυναῖκα μηδέποτε πλὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης γενομένης περιπλακῆναι, καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς μακάριός ἐστι τοῦ Διὸς βροντῶντος.

[1] ἐν λόγῳ Hercher and Blass with F[a]SC: ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

asked his beloved if he wished to see the man smitten. The youth said he did, and Lucius ordered the man's head to be cut off.

This is the version which most writers give of the affair, and so Cicero has represented Cato himself as telling the story in his dialogue "On Old Age."[1] But Livy[2] says the victim was a Gallic deserter, and that Lucius did not have the man slain by a lictor, but smote him with his own hand, and that this is the version of the story in a speech of Cato's.

On the expulsion of Lucius from the Senate by Cato, his brother was greatly indignant, and appealed to the people, urging that Cato state his reasons for the expulsion. Cato did so, narrating the incident of the banquet. Lucius attempted to make denial, but when Cato challenged him to a formal trial of the case with a wager of money upon it, he declined. Then the justice of his punishment was recognized. But once when a spectacle was given in the theatre, he passed along by the senatorial seats, and took his place as far away from them as he could. Then the people took pity upon him and shouted till they had forced him to change his seat, thus rectifying, as far as was possible, and alleviating the situation.

Cato expelled another senator who was thought to have good prospects for the consulship, namely, Manilius, because he embraced his wife in open day before the eyes of his daughter. For his own part, he said, he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and it was a pleasantry of his to remark that he was a happy man when it thundered.

[1] *Cato Maior*, 12, 42. [2] xxxix, 42.

XVIII. Ἤνεγκε δέ τινα τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ Λεύκιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἀδελφὸς ἐπίφθονον αἰτίαν, θριαμβικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον· ἔδοξε γὰρ οἷον ἐφυβρίζων Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπίωνι τεθνηκότι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἠνίασε μάλιστα τῇ περικοπῇ τῆς πολυτελείας, ἣν ἄντικρυς μὲν ἀφελέσθαι, νενοσηκότων ἤδη καὶ διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀδύ-
2 νατον ἦν, κύκλῳ δὲ περιϊὼν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐσθῆτος, ὀχήματος, κόσμου γυναικείου, σκευῶν τῶν περὶ δίαιταν, ὧν ἑκάστου τὸ τίμημα δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὴν ἀξίαν εἰς τὸ δεκαπλάσιον, βουλόμενος ἀπὸ μειζόνων τιμημάτων αὐτοῖς μείζονας καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς εἶναι. καὶ προσετίμησε τρεῖς χαλκοῦς πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, ὅπως βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τοὺς εὐσταλεῖς καὶ λιτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων ἐλάττονα τελοῦντας εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπα-
3 γορεύωσιν. ἦσαν οὖν αὐτῷ χαλεποὶ μὲν οἱ τὰς εἰσφορὰς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ὑπομένοντες, χαλεποὶ δ' αὖ πάλιν οἱ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀποτιθέμενοι διὰ τὰς εἰσφοράς. πλούτου γὰρ ἀφαίρεσιν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς περιττοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστά φασι τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀρίστωνα θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς τὰ περιττὰ κεκτημένους μᾶλλον ἡγοῦνται μακαρίους ἢ τοὺς
4 τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εὐποροῦντας. Σκόπας δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς αἰτουμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων

XVIII. Cato was rather bitterly censured for his treatment of Lucius, the brother of Scipio, whom, though he had achieved the honour of a triumph, he expelled from the equestrian order. He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus. But he was most obnoxious to the majority of his enemies because he lopped off extravagance in living. This could not be done away with outright, since most of the people were already infected and corrupted by it, and so he took a roundabout way. He had all apparel, equipages, jewellery, furniture and plate, the value of which in any case exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas, assessed at ten times its worth, wishing by means of larger assessments to make the owners' taxes also larger. Then he laid a tax of three on every thousand asses thus assessed, in order that such property holders, burdened by their charges, and seeing that people of equal wealth who led modest and simple lives paid less into the public treasury, might desist from their extravagance. As a result, both classes were incensed against him, both those who endured the taxes for the sake of their luxury, and those no less who put away their luxury because of the taxes. For most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. This, we are told, is what most astonished Ariston the philosopher, namely, that those possessed of the superfluities of life should be counted happy, rather than those well provided with life's necessary and useful things. Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked for something of his which

παρ' αὐτοῦ τι τοιοῦτον, ὃ μὴ σφόδρα ἦν χρήσιμον 3
ἐκείνῳ, καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς οὐδὲν αἰτεῖ τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ χρησίμων "Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ τούτοις,"
εἶπεν, "εὐδαίμων καὶ πλούσιός εἰμι, τοῖς ἀχρή-
στοις καὶ περιττοῖς." οὕτως ὁ τοῦ πλούτου
ζῆλος οὐδενὶ πάθει φυσικῷ συνημμένος ἐκ τῆς
ὀχλώδους καὶ θυραίου δόξης ἐπεισόδιός ἐστιν.

XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐγκαλούντων ἐλάχιστα
φροντίζων ὁ Κάτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν, ἀπο-
κόπτων μὲν ὀχετούς, οἷς τὸ παραρρέον δημόσιον
ὕδωρ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπῆγον εἰς οἰκίας ἰδίας
καὶ κήπους, ἀνατρέπων δὲ καὶ καταβάλλων
ὅσα προὔβαινεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον οἰκοδομήματα,
συστέλλων δὲ τοῖς μισθοῖς τὰς ἐργολαβίας, τὰ
δὲ τέλη ταῖς πράσεσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλαύνων
2 τιμάς. ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ πολὺ συνήχθη μῖσος. οἱ
δὲ περὶ τὸν Τίτον συστάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔν τε
τῇ βουλῇ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις
τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων ἔλυσαν ὡς γε-
γενημένας ἀλυσιτελῶς, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς
θρασυτάτους παρώξυναν ἐν δήμῳ προσκαλέ-
σασθαι τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ ζημιῶσαι δυσὶ ταλάν-
τοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς
κατασκευὴν ἠναντιώθησαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐκ χρημά-
των κοινῶν ὑπὸ τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ ἀγορᾷ
παρέβαλε καὶ Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη.[1]
3 Φαίνεται δὲ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ
τὴν τιμητείαν ὁ δῆμος. ἀνδριάντα γοῦν ἀναθεὶς
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐπέγραψεν οὐ τὰς

[1] Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη Sintenis with the better MSS., and now S. Cf. Livy 39, 44. Πορκίαν βασιλικὴν προσηγόρευσεν Bekker (*and called*).

was of no great service to him, with the remark that he asked for nothing that was necessary and useful, replied: "And yet my wealth and happiness are based on just such useless and superfluous things." Thus the desire for wealth is no natural adjunct of the soul, but is imposed upon it by the false opinions of the outside world.

XIX. However, Cato paid not the slightest heed to his accusers, but grew still more strict. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed part of the public water supply into their private houses and gardens; he upset and demolished all buildings that enroached on public land; he reduced the cost of public works to the lowest, and forced the rent of public lands to the highest possible figure. All these thing brought much odium upon him. Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorised for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Still, it appears that the people approved of his censorship to an amazing extent. At any rate, after erecting a statue to his honour in the temple of Health, they commemorated in the inscription

στρατηγίας οὐδὲ τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ', ὡς ἄν τις μεταφράσειε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, "Ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητὴς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὖθις ἀποκατέστησε."
4 καίτοι πρότερον αὐτὸς κατεγέλα τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ χαλκέων καὶ ζωγράφων ἔργοις μέγα φρονοῦντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ καλλίστας εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς περιφέρειν τοὺς πολίτας· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἀδόξων ἀνδριάντας ἐχόντων ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔχει "Μᾶλλον γάρ," ἔφη, "βούλομαι ζητεῖσθαι, διὰ τί μου ἀνδριὰς οὐ κεῖται ἢ διὰ
5 τί κεῖται·" τὸ δ' ὅλον οὐδ' ἐπαινούμενον ἠξίου τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ὑπομένειν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο χρησίμως γίνοιτο τῷ κοινῷ.

Καίτοι[1] πλεῖστα πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἐγκεκωμίακεν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ τὸν βίον, εἶτ' ἐλεγχομένους λέγειν φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ Κάτωνές εἰσι· καὶ τοὺς ἔνια μιμεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐπαριστέρους καλεῖσθαι
6 Κάτωνας· ἀφορᾶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ὥσπερ ἐν πλῷ πρὸς κυβερνήτην, καὶ πολλάκις μὴ παρόντος ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς. ἃ δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖται· μέγα γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διὰ τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀξίωμα.

XX. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ περὶ

[1] καίτοι conjecture of Blass; καί.

upon it, not the military commands nor the triumph of Cato, but, as the inscription may be translated, the fact "that when the Roman state was tottering to its fall, he was made censor, and by helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, restored it again." And yet, before this time he used to laugh at those who delighted in such honours, saying that, although they knew it not, their pride was based simply on the work of statuaries and painters, whereas his own images, of the most exquisite workmanship, were borne about in the hearts of his fellow citizens. And to those who expressed their amazement that many men of no fame had statues, while he had none, he used to say: "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue, than why I have one." In short, he thought a good citizen should not even allow himself to be praised, unless such praise was beneficial to the commonwealth.

And yet of all men he has heaped most praises upon himself. He tells us that men of self-indulgent lives, when rebuked for it, used to say: "We ought not to be blamed; we are no Catos." Also that those who imitated some of his practices and did it clumsily, were called "left-handed Catos." Also that the Senate looked to him in the most dangerous crises as seafarers to their helmsman, and often, if he was not present, postponed its most serious business. These boasts of his are confirmed, it is true, by other witnesses, for he had great authority in the city, alike for his life, his eloquence, and his age.

XX. He was also a good father, a considerate

γυναῖκα χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηματιστὴς οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος οὐδ' ὥς τι μικρὸν ἢ φαῦλον ἐν παρέργῳ μεταχειρισάμενος τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν. ὅθεν οἴομαι δεῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει διελθεῖν· γυναῖκα μὲν εὐγενεστέραν ἢ πλουσιωτέραν ἔγημεν, ἡγούμενος ὁμοίως μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἔχειν βάρος καὶ φρόνημα, τὰς δὲ γενναίας αἰδουμένας τὰ αἰσχρὰ μᾶλλον ὑπηκόους
2 εἶναι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι. τὸν δὲ τύπτοντα γαμετὴν ἢ παῖδα τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις ἔλεγεν ἱεροῖς προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ἐπαίνῳ δὲ μείζονι τίθεσθαι τὸ γαμέτην ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι συγκλητικόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἄλλο θαυμάζειν τοῦ παλαιοῦ πλὴν ὅτι γυναικὶ χαλεπῇ καὶ παισὶν ἀποπλήκτοις χρώμενος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ πρᾴως διετέλεσε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ μή τι δημόσιον, ὡς μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ γυναικὶ λουούσῃ τὸ 34
3 βρέφος καὶ σπαργανούσῃ. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔτρεφεν ἰδίῳ γάλακτι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων παιδάρια τῷ μαστῷ προσιεμένη κατεσκεύαζεν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῆς συντροφίας πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο συνιέναι, παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκε γράμματα, καίτοι χαρίεντα δοῦλον εἶχε γραμματιστὴν ὄνομα Χίλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα
4 παῖδας. οὐκ ἠξίου δὲ τὸν υἱόν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ὑπὸ δούλου κακῶς ἀκούειν ἢ τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀνατείνεσθαι μανθάνοντα βράδιον, οὐδέ γε μαθήματος τηλικούτου τῷ δούλῳ χάριν ὀφείλειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν γραμματιστής, αὐτὸς δὲ νομοδι-

husband, and a household manager of no mean talent, nor did he give only a fitful attention to this, as a matter of little or no importance. Therefore I think I ought to give suitable instances of his conduct in these relations. He married a wife who was of gentler birth than she was rich, thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike given to pride, still, women of high birth have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourable. He used to say that the man who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, nay, there was nothing else to admire in Socrates of old except that he was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with a shrewish wife and stupid sons. After the birth of his son, no business could be so urgent, unless it had a public character, as to prevent him from being present when his wife bathed and swaddled the babe. For the mother nursed it herself, and often gave suck also to the infants of her slaves, that so they might come to cherish a brotherly affection for her son. As soon as the boy showed signs of understanding, his father took him under his own charge and taught him to read, although he had an accomplished slave, Chilo by name, who was a school-teacher, and taught many boys. Still, Cato thought it not right, as he tells us himself, that his son should be scolded by a slave, or have his ears tweaked when he was slow to learn, still less that he should be indebted to his slave for such a priceless thing as education. He was therefore

δάκτης, αὐτὸς δὲ γυμναστής, οὐ μόνον ἀκοντίζειν οὐδ' ὁπλομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἱππεύειν διδάσκων τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ πὺξ παίειν καὶ καῦμα καὶ ψῦχος ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ δινώδη καὶ τραχύνοντα
5 τοῦ ποταμοῦ διανηχόμενον ἀποβιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας δὲ συγγράψαι φησὶν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ μεγάλοις γράμμασιν, ὅπως οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχοι τῷ παιδὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ πατρίων ὠφελεῖσθαι· τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ τῶν ῥημάτων οὐχ ἧττον εὐλαβεῖσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς παρόντος ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων, ἃς Ἑστιάδας καλοῦσι· συλλούσασθαι δὲ μηδέποτε. καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν ἔοικε Ῥωμαίων ἔθος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς[1] ἐφυλάττοντο συλλούεσθαι, δυσωπούμενοι τὴν
6 ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ γύμνωσιν. εἶτα μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλήκασι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Οὕτω δὲ καλὸν ἔργον εἰς ἀρετὴν τῷ Κάτωνι πλάττοντι καὶ δημιουργοῦντι τὸν υἱόν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς προθυμίας ἦν ἄμεμπτα καὶ δι' εὐφυΐαν ὑπήκουεν ἡ ψυχή, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μαλακώτερον ἐφαίνετο τοῦ πονεῖν, ὑπανῆκεν αὐτῷ τὸ σύντονον
7 ἄγαν καὶ κεκολασμένον τῆς διαίτης. ὁ δέ, καίπερ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Περσέα μάχην ἠγωνίσατο λαμπρῶς Παύλου στρατηγοῦντος. εἶτα μέντοι τοῦ ξίφους ἐκκρουσθέντος ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δι' ὑγρότητα τῆς

[1] πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς Hercher and Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis : πενθεροῖς γαμβροί.

himself not only the boy's reading-teacher, but his tutor in law, and his athletic trainer, and he taught his son not merely to hurl the javelin and fight in armour and ride the horse, but also to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim lustily through the eddies and billows of the Tiber. His History of Rome, as he tells us himself, he wrote out with his own hand and in large characters, that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country's ancient traditions. He declares that his son's presence put him on his guard against indecencies of speech as much as that of the so-called Vestal Virgins, and that he never bathed with him. This, indeed, would seem to have been a general custom with the Romans, for even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law, because they were ashamed to uncover their nakedness. Afterwards, however, when they had learned from the Greeks their freedom in going naked, they in their turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present.

So Cato wrought at the fair task of moulding and fashioning his son to virtue, finding his zeal blameless, and his spirit answering to his good natural parts. But since his body was rather too delicate to endure much hardship, he relaxed somewhat in his favour the excessive rigidity and austerity of his own mode of life. But his son, although thus delicate, made a sturdy soldier, and fought brilliantly under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus.[1] On that occasion his sword either was smitten from his hand or slipped from his

[1] Pydna, 168 B.C.

χειρὸς ἐξολισθόντος ἀχθεσθεὶς τρέπεται πρός τινας τῶν συνήθων, καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκείνους αὖθις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνέβαλε. πολλῷ δ' ἀγῶνι καὶ βίᾳ μεγάλῃ διαφωτίσας τὸν τόπον ἀνεῦρε μόγις ἐν πολλοῖς σάγμασιν ὅπλων καὶ σώμασι νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ φίλων τε καὶ πολεμίων
8 κατασεσωρευμένων. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἠγάσθη τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ φέρεταί τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὑπερφυῶς ἐπαινοῦντος τὴν περὶ τὸ ξίφος φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδήν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Παύλου θυγατέρα Τερτίαν ἔγημεν ὁ νεανίας, ἀδελφὴν Σκηπίωνος, οὐχ ἧττον ἤδη δι' αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν πατέρα καταμιγνύμενος εἰς γένος τηλικοῦτον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄξιον ἔσχεν τέλος.

XXI. Οἰκέτας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκτᾶτο, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὠνούμενος μάλιστα τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ δυναμένους ἔτι τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν ὡς σκύλακας ἢ πώλους ἐνεγκεῖν. τούτων οὐδεὶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν, εἰ μὴ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ Κάτωνος ἢ τῆς γυναικός. ὁ δ' ἐρωτηθείς, τί πράττοι Κάτων, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνετο πλὴν ἀγνοεῖν.
2 ἔδει δὲ ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἴκοι τὸν δοῦλον ἢ καθεύδειν· καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς κοιμωμένοις ὁ Κάτων ἔχαιρε, πραοτέρους τε τῶν ἐγρηγορότων νομίζων καὶ πρὸς ὁτιοῦν βελτίονας χρῆσθαι τῶν δεομένων ὕπνου τοὺς ἀπολελαυκότας. οἰόμενος δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ῥᾳδιουργεῖν ἀφροδισίων ἕνεκα τοὺς δούλους ἔταξεν ὡρισμένου νομίσματος ὁμιλεῖν 349
ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν, ἑτέρᾳ δὲ γυναικὶ μηδένα πλησιάζειν.

moist grasp. Distressed at this mishap, he turned to some of his companions for aid, and supported by them rushed again into the thick of the enemy. After a long and furious struggle, he succeeded in clearing the place, and found the sword at last among the many heaps of arms and dead bodies where friends and foes alike lay piled upon one another. Paulus, his commander, admired the young man's exploit, and there is still extant a letter written by Cato himself to his son, in which he heaps extravagant praise upon him for this honourable zeal in recovering his sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, a daughter of Paulus and a sister of the younger Scipio, and his admission into such a family was due no less to himself than to his father. Thus Cato's careful attention to the education of his son bore worthy fruit.

XXI. He owned many domestics, and usually bought those prisoners of war who were young and still capable of being reared and trained like whelps or colts. Not one of his slaves ever entered another man's house unless sent thither by Cato or his wife, and when such an one was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered that he did not know. A slave of his was expected either to be busy about the house, or to be asleep, and he was very partial to the sleepy ones. He thought these gentler than the wakeful ones, and that those who had enjoyed the gift of sleep were better for any kind of service than those who lacked it. In the belief that his slaves were led into most mischief by their sexual passions, he stipulated that the males should consort with the females at a fixed price, but should never approach any other woman.

3 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἔτι πένης ὢν καὶ στρατευόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυσκόλαινε τῶν περὶ δίαιταν, ἀλλ' αἴσχιστον ἀπέφαινε διὰ γαστέρα πρὸς οἰκέτην ζυγομαχεῖν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδιδόντων ποιούμενος ἑστιάσεις φίλων καὶ συναρχόντων ἐκόλαζεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἱμάντι τοὺς ἀμελέστερον ὑπουργήσαντας ὁτιοῦν ἢ
4 σκευάσαντας. ἀεὶ δέ τινα στάσιν ἔχειν τοὺς δούλους ἐμηχανᾶτο καὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὑπονοῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ δεδοικώς. τοὺς δ' ἄξιον εἰργάσθαι τι θανάτου δόξαντες ἐδικαίου κριθέντας ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις πᾶσιν ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ καταγνωσθεῖεν.

5 Ἁπτόμενος δὲ συντονώτερον πορισμοῦ τὴν μὲν γεωργίαν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖτο διαγωγὴν ἢ πρόσοδον, εἰς δ' ἀσφαλῆ πράγματα καὶ βέβαια κατατιθέμενος τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκτᾶτο λίμνας, ὕδατα θερμά, τόπους κναφεῦσιν ἀνειμένους, ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν[1] ἔχουσαν αὐτοφυεῖς νομὰς καὶ ὕλας, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ χρήματα προσῄει πολλὰ μηδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, βλαβῆναι δυνα-
6 μένων. ἐχρήσατο δὲ καὶ τῷ διαβεβλημένῳ μάλιστα τῶν δανεισμῶν ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἐκέλευε τοὺς δανειζομένους ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολλοὺς παρακαλεῖν, γενομένων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ πλοίων τοσούτων αὐτὸς εἶχε μίαν μερίδα διὰ Κουϊντίωνος ἀπελευθέρου τοῖς δανειζομένοις συμπραγματευομένου καὶ συμπλέοντος. ἦν δ' οὖν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέρος μικρὸν
7 ἐπὶ κέρδεσι μεγάλοις. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν

[1] ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν Blass with S: ἐργατησίαν χώραν, *productive land.*

At the outset, when he was still poor and in military service, he found no fault at all with what was served up to him, declaring that it was shameful for a man to quarrel with a domestic over food and drink. But afterwards, when his circumstances were improved and he used to entertain his friends and colleagues at table, no sooner was the dinner over than he would flog those slaves who had been remiss at all in preparing or serving it. He was always contriving that his slaves should have feuds and dissensions among themselves; harmony among them made him suspicious and fearful of them. He had those who were suspected of some capital offence brought to trial before all their fellow servants, and, if convicted, put to death.

However, as he applied himself more strenuously to money-getting, he came to regard agriculture as more entertaining than profitable, and invested his capital in business that was safe and sure. He bought ponds, hot springs, districts given over to fullers, pitch factories, land with natural pasture and forest, all of which brought him in large profits, and "could not," to use his own phrase, "be ruined by Jupiter." He used to loan money also in the most disreputable of all ways, namely, on ships, and his method was as follows. He required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he took one share in the company himself, and was represented by Quintio, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. In this way his entire security was not imperilled, but only a small part of it, and his profits were large.

τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀργύριον· οἱ δ' ἐωνοῦντο παῖδας, εἶτα τούτους ἀσκήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες ἀναλώμασι τοῦ Κάτωνος μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδίδοντο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ὅσην ὁ πλείστην διδοὺς ἐωνεῖτο τιμὴν ὑπολογιζόμενος.
8 προτρέπων δὲ τὸν υἱόν ἐπὶ ταῦτά φησιν οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ χήρας γυναικὸς εἶναι τὸ μειῶσαί τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὅτι θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θεῖον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε πρὸς δόξαν, ὃς ἀπολείπει πλέον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὃ προσέθηκεν οὗ παρέλαβεν.

XXII. Ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ γέροντος γεγονότος πρέσβεις Ἀθήνηθεν ἦλθον εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ περὶ Καρνεάδην τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν καὶ Διογένη τὸν Στωϊκὸν φιλόσοφον, καταδίκην τινὰ παραιτησόμενοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἣν ἐρήμην ὤφλον Ὠρωπίων μὲν διωξάντων, Σικυωνίων δὲ καταψηφισαμένων, τίμημα ταλάντων πεντα-
2 κοσίων ἔχουσαν. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ φιλολογώτατοι τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἵεντο, καὶ συνῆσαν ἀκροώμενοι καὶ θαυμάζοντες αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἡ Καρνεάδου χάρις, ἧς δύναμίς τε πλείστη καὶ δόξα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσα, μεγάλων ἐπιλαβομένη καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἀκροατηρίων ὡς πνεῦμα τὴν πόλιν ἠχῆς ἐνέπλησε.
3 καὶ λόγος κατεῖχεν, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην εἰς ἔκπληξιν ὑπερφυὴς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρούμενος ἔρωτα

He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year, at Cato's expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for his boy. He tried to incite his son also to such economies, by saying that it was not the part of a man, but of a widow woman, to lessen his substance. But that surely was too vehement a speech of Cato's, when he went so far as to say that a man was to be admired and glorified like a god if the final inventory of his property showed that he had added to it more than he had inherited.

XXII. When he was now well on in years, there came as ambassadors from Athens to Rome,[1] Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic philosopher, to beg the reversal of a certain decision against the Athenian people, which imposed upon them a fine of five hundred talents. The people of Oropus had brought the suit, the Athenians had let the case go by default, and the Sicyonians had pronounced judgment against them. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, the most studious of the city's youth hastened to wait upon them, and became their devoted and admiring listeners. The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremen-

[1] 155 B.C.

δεινὸν ἐμβέβληκε τοῖς νέοις, ὑφ' οὗ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθουσιῶσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἤρεσκε Ῥωμαίοις γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ μειράκια παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα καὶ συνόντα θαυμα-
4 ζομένοις ἀνδράσιν ἡδέως ἑώρων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε τοῦ ζήλου τῶν λόγων παραρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤχθετο φοβούμενος, μὴ τὸ φιλότιμον ἐνταῦθα τρέψαντες οἱ νέοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν δόξαν ἀγαπήσωσι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔβαινεν ἡ δόξα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς σπουδάσας αὐτὸς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἡρμήνευσε, Γάϊος Ἀκίλιος, ἔγνω μετ' εὐπρεπείας ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἅπαντας
5 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλη- 35
τον ἐμέμψατο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὅτι πρεσβεία κάθηται πολὺν χρόνον ἄπρακτος ἀνδρῶν, οἳ περὶ παντὸς οὗ βούλοιντο ῥᾳδίως πείθειν δύνανται· δεῖν οὖν τὴν ταχίστην γνῶναί τι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, ὅπως οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς σχολὰς τραπόμενοι διαλέγωνται παισὶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων νέοι τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡς προτέρου ἀκούωσι.

XXIII. Ταῦτα δ' οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, Καρνεάδη δυσχεράνας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὅλως φιλοσοφίᾳ προσκεκρουκὼς καὶ πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν μοῦσαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας προπηλακίζων, ὅς γε καὶ Σωκράτη φησὶ λάλον καὶ βίαιον γενόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν, ᾧ τρόπῳ δυνατὸς ἦν, τυραννεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, καταλύοντα τὰ ἔθη καὶ πρὸς

dous passion into the youth of the city, in consequence of which they forsook their other pleasures and pursuits and were "possessed" about philosophy. The other Romans were pleased at this, and glad to see their young men lay hold of Greek culture and consort with such admirable men. But Cato, at the very outset, when this zeal for discussion came pouring into the city, was distressed, fearing lest the young men, by giving this direction to their ambition, should come to love a reputation based on mere words more than one achieved by martial deeds. And when the fame of the visiting philosophers rose yet higher in the city, and their first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of them all. So he rose in the Senate and censured the magistrates for keeping in such long suspense an embassy composed of men who could easily secure anything they wished, so persuasive were they. "We ought," he said, "to make up our minds one way or another, and vote on what the embassy proposes, in order that these men may return to their schools and lecture to the sons of Greece, while the youth of Rome give ear to their laws and magistrates, as heretofore."

XXIII. This he did, not, as some think, out of personal hostility to Carneades, but because he was wholly averse to philosophy, and made mock of all Greek culture and training, out of patriotic zeal. He says, for instance, that Socrates was a mighty prattler, who attempted, as best he could, to be his country's tyrant, by abolishing its customs,

ἐναντίας τοῖς νόμοις δόξας ἕλκοντα καὶ μεθιστάντα
2 τοὺς πολίτας. τὴν δ' Ἰσοκράτους διατριβὴν ἐπισκώπτων γηρᾶν φησι παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς ἐν Ἅιδου παρὰ Μίνῳ χρησομένους ταῖς τέχναις καὶ δίκας ἐροῦντας. τὸν δὲ παῖδα διαβάλλων πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ φωνῇ κέχρηται θρασυτέρᾳ τοῦ γήρως, οἷον ἀποθεσπίζων καὶ προμαντεύων, ὡς ἀπολοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πράγματα
3 γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναπλησθέντες. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος ἀποδείκνυσι κενήν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν ἡ πόλις ἤρθη μεγίστη καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὰ μαθήματα καὶ παιδείαν ἅπασαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.

Ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀπηχθάνετο τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰατρεύοντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ δι' ὑποψίας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἱπποκράτους, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀκηκοὼς λόγον, ὃν εἶπε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τισι ταλάντοις, οὐκ ἄν ποτε βαρβάροις Ἑλλήνων πολεμίοις ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, ἔλεγε κοινὸν ὅρκον
4 εἶναι τοῦτον ἰατρῶν ἁπάντων, καὶ παρεκελεύετο φυλάττεσθαι τῷ παιδὶ πάντας· αὐτῷ δὲ γεγραμμένον ὑπόμνημα εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεραπεύειν καὶ διαιτᾶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας οἴκοι, νῆστιν μὲν οὐδέποτε διατηρῶν οὐδένα, τρέφων δὲ λαχάνοις ἢ σαρκιδίοις νήσσης ἢ φάσσης ἢ λαγώ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κοῦφον εἶναι καὶ πρόσφορον ἀσθενοῦσι, πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς φαγοῦσιν ἐνυπνιάζεσθαι· τοιαύτῃ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ χρώμενος ὑγιαίνειν μὲν αὐτός, ὑγιαίνοντας δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττειν.

and by enticing his fellow citizens into opinions contrary to the laws. He made fun of the school of Isocrates, declaring that his pupils kept on studying with him till they were old men, as if they were to practise their arts and plead their cases before Minos in Hades. And seeking to prejudice his son against Greek culture, he indulges in an utterance all too rash for his years, declaring, in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome would lose her empire when she had become infected with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city was at the zenith of its empire, she made every form of Greek learning and culture her own.

It was not only Greek philosophers that he hated, but he was also suspicious of Greeks who practised medicine at Rome. He had heard, it would seem, of Hippocrates' reply when the Great King of Persia consulted him, with the promise of a fee of many talents, namely, that he would never put his skill at the service of Barbarians who were enemies of Greece. He said all Greek physicians had taken a similar oath, and urged his son to beware of them all. He himself, he said, had written a book of recipes, which he followed in the treatment and regimen of any who were sick in his family. He never required his patients to fast, but fed them on greens, or bits of duck, pigeon, or hare. Such a diet, he said, was light and good for sick people, except that it often causes dreams. By following such treatment and regimen he said he had good health himself, and kept his family in good health.

XXIV. Καὶ περί γε τοῦτο φαίνεται γεγονὼς οὐκ ἀνεμέσητος· καὶ γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέβαλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην ἀσφαλῶς πεπηγὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντεῖχεν, ὥστε καὶ γυναικὶ πρεσβύτης ὢν σφόδρα πλησιάζειν καὶ γῆμαι γάμον οὐ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἀποβαλὼν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ μὲν υἱῷ Παύλου θυγατέρα, Σκηπίωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴν ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον, αὐτὸς δὲ χηρεύων ἐχρῆτο παιδίσκῃ
2 κρύφα φοιτώσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. ἣν οὖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ νύμφην ἐχούσῃ τοῦ πράγματος αἴσθησις· καί ποτε τοῦ γυναίου θρασύτερον παρασοβῆσαι παρὰ τὸ δωμάτιον δόξαντος ὁ νεανίας εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμβλέψας δέ πως πικρότερον καὶ διατραπεὶς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν πρεσβύτην. ὡς οὖν ἔγνω τὸ πρᾶγμα δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ μεμψάμενος, ἀλλὰ καταβαίνων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μετὰ φίλων εἰς ἀγορὰν Σαλώνιόν τινα τῶν ὑπογεγραμματευκότων αὐτῷ παρόντα καὶ συμπροπέμποντα μεγάλῃ φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἠρώτησεν,
3 εἰ τὸ θυγάτριον συνήρμοκε νυμφίῳ. τοῦ δ' ἀνθρώπου φήσαντος, ὡς οὐδὲ μέλλει μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνῳ κοινωσάμενος "Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ σοι," φησίν, 35
"εὕρηκα κηδεστὴν ἐπιτήδειον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας δυσχεραίνοιτο· τἆλλα γὰρ οὐ μεμπτός ἐστι, σφόδρα δὲ πρεσβύτης." ὡς οὖν ὁ Σαλώνιος ἐκέλευε ταῦτα φροντίζειν καὶ διδόναι τὴν κόρην ᾧ προαιρεῖται, πελάτιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένην τῆς ἐκείνου κηδεμονίας, οὐδεμίαν ὁ

XXIV. Such presumption on his part seems not to have gone unpunished, for he lost his wife and his son. He himself was well confirmed in bodily health and vigour, and long withstood the assaults of age. Even when an old man he was prone to indulge his sexual appetite, and at last married a wife when he was long past the marrying age. This was the way it came about. After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, the sister of Scipio, but he himself, in his widowhood, took solace with a slave girl who secretly visited his bed. Of course, in a small house with a young married woman in it, the matter was discovered, and once, when the girl seemed to flaunt her way rather too boldly to his chamber, the old man could not help noticing that his son, although he said nothing, looked very sour, and turned away. Perceiving that the thing displeased his children, Cato did not upbraid or blame them at all, but as he was going down in his usual way to the forum with his clients, called out with a loud voice to a certain Salonius, who had been one of his under-secretaries, and was now in his train, asking him if he had found a good husband for his young daughter. The man said he had not, and would not do so without first consulting his patron. "Well then," said Cato, "I have found a suitable son-in-law for you, unless indeed his age should be displeasing; in other ways no fault can be found with him, but he is a very old man." Salonius at once bade him take the matter in charge and give the maid to the man of his choice, since she was a dependant of his and in need of his kind services. Then Cato, without any more

Κάτων ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν
4 παρθένον αἰτεῖν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς
εἰκός, ὁ λόγος ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόρρω μὲν
γάμου τὸν Κάτωνα, πόρρω δ' αὐτὸν οἰκίας
ὑπατικῆς καὶ θριαμβικῶν κηδευμάτων τιθέμενον·
σπουδῇ δὲ χρώμενον ὁρῶν ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο, καὶ
καταβάντες εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν
ἐγγύην.

Πραττομένου δὲ τοῦ γάμου παραλαβὼν τοὺς
ἐπιτηδείους ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἠρώτησε τὸν
πατέρα, μή τι μεμφόμενος ἢ λελυπημένος ὑπ'
5 αὐτοῦ μητρυιὰν ἐπάγεται. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀνα-
βοήσας "Εὐφήμησον," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ· πάντα
γὰρ ἀγαστά μοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μεμπτὸν οὐδέν·
ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ πλείονας ἐμαυτῷ τε παῖδας καὶ
πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι τοιούτους ἀπολιπεῖν." ταύτην
δὲ τὴν γνώμην πρότερον εἰπεῖν φασι Πεισί-
στρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τύραννον ἐπιγήμαντα
τοῖς ἐνηλίκοις παισὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν,
ἐξ ἧς Ἰοφῶντα καὶ Θεσσαλὸν αὐτῷ λέγουσι
6 γενέσθαι. γήμαντι δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι γίνεται παῖς,
ᾧ παρωνύμιον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἔθετο Σαλώνιον.
ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν.
καὶ μέμνηται μὲν αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς βι-
βλίοις ὁ Κάτων ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεγονότος,
πρᾴως δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφως λέγεται τὴν συμφορὰν
ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀμβλύτερος δι' αὐτὴν εἰς
7 τὰ πολιτικὰ γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Λεύκιος
Λούκουλλος ὕστερον καὶ Μέτελλος ὁ Πίος,
ἐξέκαμεν ὑπὸ γήρως πρὸς τὰ δημόσια, λειτουρ-
γίαν τὴν πολιτείαν ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' ὡς πρότερον
Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς διὰ τὸν ἀντικρούσαντα

ado, said that he asked the damsel to wife for himself. At first, as was natural, the proposal amazed the man, who counted Cato far past marriage, and himself far beneath alliance with a house of consular dignity and triumphal honours; but when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he gladly accepted his proposal, and as soon as they reached the forum the banns were published.

While the marriage was in hand, Cato's son, accompanied by his friends, asked his father if it was because he had any complaint to make against him that he was now foisting a step-mother upon him. "Heaven forbid! my son," cried Cato, "all your conduct towards me has been admirable, and I have no fault to find with you; but I desire to bless myself and my country with more such sons." However, they say that this sentiment was uttered long before by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, who gave his grown up sons a step-mother in the person of Timonassa of Argolis, by whom he is said to have had Iophon and Thessalus. Of this second marriage a son was born to Cato, who was named Salonius, after his mother's father. But his elder son died in the praetorship. Cato often speaks of him in his books as a brave and worthy man, and is said to have borne his loss with all the equanimity of a philosopher, remitting not a whit because of it his ardour in the public service. For he was not, like Lucius Lucullus and Metellus Pius in after times, too enfeebled by old age to serve the people, regarding the service of the state as a burdensome duty; nor did he, like Scipio Africanus before him, because of envious attacks

πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ φθόνον ἀποστραφεὶς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐποιήσατο τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου
8 τέλος ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ Διονύσιόν τις ἔπεισε κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν τυραννίδα, κάλλιστον αὐτὸς ἐγγήραμα τὴν πολιτείαν ποιησάμενος ἀναπαύσεσιν ἐχρῆτο καὶ παιδιαῖς, ὁπότε σχολάζοι, τῷ συντάττεσθαι βιβλία καὶ τῷ γεωργεῖν.

XXV. Συνετάττετο μὲν οὖν λόγους τε παντοδαποὺς καὶ ἱστορίας· γεωργίᾳ δὲ προσεῖχε νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν (φησὶ γὰρ δυσὶ κεχρῆσθαι μόνοις πορισμοῖς γεωργίᾳ καὶ φειδοῖ), τότε δὲ διαγωγὴν καὶ θεωρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα κατ' ἀγρὸν παρεῖχε. καὶ συντέτακταί γε βιβλίον γεωργικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πλακούντων σκευασίας καὶ τηρήσεως ὀπώρας γέγραφεν, ἐν παντὶ φι-
2 λοτιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἴδιος. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν ἀγρῷ δαψιλέστερον· ἐκάλει γὰρ ἑκάστοτε τῶν ἀγρογειτόνων καὶ περιχώρων τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ συνδιῆγεν ἱλαρῶς, οὐ τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν μόνοις ἡδὺς ὢν συγγενέσθαι καὶ ποθεινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς νέοις, ἅτε δὴ πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπειρος πραγμάτων γεγονώς, πολλοῖς δὲ γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις ἀξίοις ἀκοῆς ἐντετυχηκώς.
3 τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοποιὸν ἡγεῖτο· καὶ πολλὴ μὲν εὐφημία τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ἐπεισήγετο, πολλὴ δ' ἦν ἀμνηστία τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ πονηρῶν, μήτε ψόγῳ μήτ' ἐπαίνῳ πάροδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον διδόντος.

XXVI. Ἔσχατον δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ

upon his reputation, turn his back upon the people and make leisure his end and aim for the rest of his life; but rather, as someone persuaded Dionysius to regard his sovereignty as his fairest winding-sheet, so he held public service to be the fairest privilege of old age. For recreation and amusement, when he had leisure therefor, he resorted to the writing of books and to farming.

XXV. He composed speeches, then, on all sorts of subjects, and histories, and as for farming, he followed it in earnest when he was young and poor,—indeed, he says he then had only two ways of getting money, farming and frugality,—but in later life he was only a theoretical and fancy farmer. He also composed a book on farming,[1] in which he actually gave recipes for making cakes and preserving fruit, so ambitious was he to be superior and peculiar in everything. The dinners, too, which he gave in the country, were quite plentiful. He always asked in congenial country neighbours, and made merry with them, and not only did those of his own age find in him an agreeable and much desired companion, but also the young. For he was a man of large experience, who had read and heard much that was well worth repeating. He held the table to be the very best promoter of friendship, and at his own, the conversation turned much to the praise of honourable and worthy citizens, greatly to the neglect of those who were worthless and base. About such Cato suffered no table-talk, either by way of praise or blame.

XXVI. The last of his public services is supposed

[1] *De re rustica.*

τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἀνάστασιν οἴονται γεγονέναι, τῷ
μὲν ἔργῳ τέλος ἐπιθέντος τοῦ νέου Σκηπίωνος, 35
βουλῇ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ μάλιστα τῇ Κάτωνος ἀρα-
μένων τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Κάτων
ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ Μασσανάσσην
τὸν Νομάδα πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλοις, ἐπισκεψό-
μενος τὰς τῆς διαφορᾶς προφάσεις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν
τοῦ δήμου φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οἱ δ' ἐγεγόνεισαν ἔν-
σπονδοι μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος ἧτταν, ἀφαι-
ρέσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βαρεῖ δασμῷ χρημάτων
2 κολουθέντες. εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ, ὡς ᾤοντο
Ῥωμαῖοι, κεκακωμένην καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσαν,
ἀλλὰ πολλῇ μὲν εὐανδροῦσαν ἡλικίᾳ, μεγάλων
δὲ πλούτων γέμουσαν, ὅπλων δὲ παντοδαπῶν
καὶ παρασκευῆς πολεμιστηρίου μεστὴν καὶ μικρὸν
οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις φρονοῦσαν, οὐ τὰ Νομάδων
ᾤετο καὶ Μασσανάσσου πράγματα Ῥωμαίους
ὥραν ἔχειν τίθεσθαι καὶ διαιτᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
καταλήψονται πόλιν ἄνωθεν ἐχθρὰν καὶ βαρύ-
θυμον ηὐξημένην ἀπίστως, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις
3 κινδύνοις ἔσεσθαι. ταχέως οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἐδί-
δασκε τὴν βουλήν, ὡς αἱ πρότερον ἧτται καὶ
συμφοραὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς δυνάμεως
ὅσον τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπαρύσασαι, κινδυνεύουσιν
αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσθενεστέρους, ἐμπειροτέρους δὲ
πολεμεῖν ἀπεργάσασθαι, ἤδη δὲ καὶ προανα-
κινεῖσθαι τοῖς Νομαδικοῖς τοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
ἀγῶνας, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς ὄνομα τοῦ

to have been the destruction of Carthage. It was Scipio the Younger who actually brought the task to completion,[1] but it was largely in consequence of the advice and counsel of Cato that the Romans undertook the war. It was on this wise. Cato was sent[2] on an embassy to the Carthaginians and Masinissa the Numidian, who were at war with one another, to inquire into the grounds of their quarrel. Masinissa had been a friend of the Roman people from the first, and the Carthaginians had entered into treaty relations with Rome after the defeat which the elder Scipio had given them. The treaty deprived them of their empire, and imposed a grievous money tribute upon them. Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little puffed up by all this. He therefore thought it no time for the Romans to be ordering and arranging the affairs of Masinissa and the Numidians, but that unless they should repress a city which had always been their malignant foe, now that its power was so incredibly grown, they would be involved again in dangers as great as before. Accordingly, he returned with speed to Rome, and advised the Senate that the former calamitous defeats of the Carthaginians had diminished not so much their power as their foolhardiness, and were likely to render them in the end not weaker, but more expert in war; their present contest with Numidia was but a prelude to a contest with Rome, while peace and treaty were mere names wherewith to

[1] 146 B.C. [2] 150 B.C.

πολέμου τῇ μελλήσει κεῖσθαι καιρὸν περιμένοντος.

XXVII. Πρὸς τούτοις φασὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ σῦκα τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐπίτηδες ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τήβεννον ἀναβαλόμενον· εἶτα θαυμασάντων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡ ταῦτα φέρουσα χώρα τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχει τῆς Ῥώμης. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη καὶ βιαιότερον, τὸ περὶ παντὸς οὗ δήποτε πράγματος γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενον προσεπιφωνεῖν οὕτως· "Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι." τοὐναντίον δὲ Πόπλιος Σκηπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει λέγων καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος· "Δοκεῖ
2 μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι." πολλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὕβρει τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν ἤδη πλημμελοῦντα καὶ δι' εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνημα τῇ βουλῇ δυσκάθεκτον ὄντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ὅπη ῥέψειε ταῖς ὁρμαῖς βίᾳ συνεφελκόμενον, ἐβούλετο τοῦτον γοῦν τὸν φόβον ὥσπερ χαλινὸν ἐπικεῖσθαι σωφρονιστῆρα τῇ θρασύτητι τῶν πολλῶν, ἔλαττον μὲν ἡγούμενος ἰσχύειν Καρχηδονίους τοῦ περιγενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων, μεῖζον δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι.
3 τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, βακχεύοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἐξουσίαν πόλιν ἀεὶ μεγάλην, νῦν δὲ καὶ νήφουσαν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν καὶ κεκολασμένην ἐπικρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀνελεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φόβους, ἀναφορὰς αὑτοῖς πρὸς τὰς οἴκοθεν ἁμαρτίας ἀπολιπόντας.

4 Οὕτω μὲν ἐξεργάσασθαι λέγεται τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον ὁ Κάτων ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους πόλε-

cover their postponement of war till a fit occasion offered.

XXVII. In addition to this, it is said that Cato contrived to drop a Libyan fig in the Senate, as he shook out the folds of his toga, and then, as the senators admired its size and beauty, said that the country where it grew was only three days' sail from Rome. And in one thing he was even more savage, namely, in adding to his vote on any question whatsoever these words: "In my opinion, Carthage must be destroyed." Publius Scipio Nasica, on the contrary, when called upon for his vote, always ended his speech with this declaration: "In my opinion, Carthage must be spared." He saw, probably, that the Roman people, in its wantonness, was already guilty of many excesses, and in the pride of its prosperity, spurned the control of the Senate, and forcibly dragged the whole state with it, whithersoever its mad desires inclined it. He wished, therefore, that the fear of Carthage should abide, to curb the boldness of the multitude like a bridle, believing her not strong enough to conquer Rome, nor yet weak enough to be despised. But this was precisely what Cato dreaded, when the Roman people was inebriated and staggering with its power, to have a city which had always been great, and was now but sobered and chastened by its calamities, for ever threatening them. Such external threats to their sovereignty ought to be done away with altogether, he thought, that they might be free to devise a cure for their domestic failings.

In this way Cato is said to have brought to pass the third and last war against Carthage,[1] but it had

[1] 151–146 B.C.

μον, ἀρξαμένων δὲ πολεμεῖν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποθεσπίσας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιθήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἀνδρός, ὃς ἦν τότε μὲν νεανίας, χιλίαρχος δὲ στρατευόμενος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ γνώμης ἔργα καὶ τόλμης πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς Ῥώμην πυνθανόμενον τὸν Κάτωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν·

οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι.

5 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταχὺ δι' ἔργων ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σκηπίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἕνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, ᾧ παρωνύμιον ἔφαμεν γενέσθαι Σαλώνιον, ἕνα δὲ υἱωνὸν ἐκ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος υἱοῦ. καὶ Σαλώνιος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν, ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Μάρκος ὑπάτευσεν. ἦν δὲ πάππος οὗτος τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιφανεστάτου γενομένου.

[ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ]

I. Γεγραμμένων δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀξίων 35
μνήμης, ὅλος ὁ τούτου βίος ὅλῳ τῷ θατέρου παρατεθεὶς οὐκ εὐθεώρητον ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐναφανιζομένην πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ὁμοιότησιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ κατὰ μέρος τῇ συγκρίσει διαλαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἔπος ἢ γραφὴν ἑκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ δόξαν

no sooner begun than he died,[1] having first prophesied of the man who was destined to end it. This man was then young, but as tribune in the army, he was giving proofs of judgment and daring in his engagements with the enemy. Tidings of this came to Rome, and Cato is said to have cried on hearing them :—

> "Only he has wits, but the rest are fluttering shadows."[2]

This utterance of Cato's, Scipio speedily confirmed by his deeds. Cato left one son by his second wife, whose surname, as we have already remarked, was Salonius; and one grandson by the son who died before him. Salonius died in the praetorship, but the son whom he left, Marcus, came to be consul. This Marcus was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher, who was the best and most illustrious man of his time.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Now that I have recorded the most noteworthy things in the careers of these men also, if one compare the entire life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to mark the difference between them, obscured as it is by many great resemblances. And even if, in our comparison, we analyse each life, as we would a poem or a picture, we shall find that the rise to political power and repute in consequence

[1] 149 B.C. [2] *Odyssey*, x. 495.

ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει προελθεῖν ἀμφοτέροις κοινόν
2 ἐστι. φαίνεται δ' ὁ μὲν Ἀριστείδης οὔπω τότε μεγάλων οὐσῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις ἔτι συμμέτροις καὶ ὁμαλοῖς ἐπιβαλὼν δημαγωγοῖς καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιφανὴς γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ μέγιστον ἦν τίμημα τότε πεντακοσίων μεδίμνων, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τριακοσίων, ἔσχατον δὲ καὶ τρίτον
3 διακοσίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐκ πολίχνης τε μικρᾶς καὶ διαίτης ἀγροίκου δοκούσης φέρων ἀφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείαν, οὐκέτι Κουρίων καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Ἀτιλιων ἔργον οὖσαν ἡγεμόνων, οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρότρου καὶ σκαφείου πένητας καὶ αὐτουργοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσιεμένην ἄρχοντας καὶ δημαγωγούς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γένη μεγάλα καὶ πλούτους καὶ νομὰς καὶ σπουδαρχίας ἀποβλέπειν εἰθισμένην, καὶ δι' ὄγκον ἤδη καὶ δύναμιν ἐντρυφῶσαν τοῖς
4 ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσιν. οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅμοιον ἀντιπάλῳ χρῆσθαι Θεμιστοκλεῖ μήτ' ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρῷ καὶ κεκτημένῳ μέτρια (πέντε γὰρ ἢ τριῶν ταλάντων οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτε πρῶτον ἥπτετο τῆς πολιτείας) καὶ πρὸς Σκηπίωνας Ἀφρικανοὺς καὶ Σερουίους Γάλβας καὶ Κοϊντίους Φλαμινίνους ἁμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ πρωτείων, μηδὲν ὁρμητήριον ἔχοντα πλὴν φωνὴν παρρησιαζομένην ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

II. Ἔτι δ' Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς δέκατος ἦν στρατηγός, Κάτων δὲ δεύτερος μὲν ὕπατος ᾑρέθη πολλῶν ἀντιμετιόντων, δεύτερος δὲ τιμητὴς ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ἁμιλλωμένους ὑπερβαλόμενος. καὶ μὴν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν

of innate excellence and strength, rather than of inherited advantages, is common to both. But in the case of Aristides, Athens was not yet great when he rose to eminence, and the leaders and generals with whom he dealt were men of moderate and uniform fortunes. The highest assessment of property in those days was five hundred bushels of grain, the second three hundred, the third and last two hundred. Whereas Cato, coming from a little town and from ways of life deemed rustic, plunged headlong into the boundless sea of Roman politics when they were no longer conducted by such men as Curius, Fabricius, and Atilius, nor welcomed as magistrates and leaders poor men who had mounted the rostrum after working with their own hands at the plough and the mattock, but were wont to have regard rather for great families and their wealth, largesses, and solicitations, while those who sought office, such was now the power and arrogance of the people, were wantonly handled. It was not the same thing to have Themistocles for a rival, who was of no illustrious family and had only moderate possessions (he is said to have been worth three, or, at most, five talents when he entered public life), as it was to compete for pre-eminence with such men as Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba, and Quintius Flamininus, having no other advantage than a tongue which spoke boldly for the right.

II. Besides, at Marathon, and again at Plataea, Aristides was only one of ten generals, while Cato was elected one of two consuls out of many competitors, and one of two censors over the heads of seven of the foremost and most illustrious Romans, who stood for the office with him. Furthermore,

οὐδενὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων γέγονε πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ Μιλτιάδης ἔχει τοῦ Μαραθῶνος τὸ πρωτεῖον, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἀνελέσθαι καλλίστην νίκην
2 Παυσανίαν, Ἀριστείδῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτερείων ἀμφισβητοῦσι Σωφάναι καὶ Ἀμεινίαι καὶ Καλλίμαχοι καὶ Κυναίγειροι διαπρεπῶς ἀριστεύσαντες ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγῶσι· Κάτων δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπρώτευσε καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιαρχῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ὑπατεύοντος ἑτέρου τὴν δόξαν ἔσχε τῆς νίκης, μεγάλας ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον Ῥωμαίοις ἀναπετάσας κλεισιάδας καὶ πρόσω μόνον ὁρῶντι τῷ βασιλεῖ περιστήσας κατὰ νώτου τὸν πόλεμον.
3 ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ νίκη περιφανῶς ἔργον οὖσα Κάτωνος ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ παρέσχεν ἐπιβατὴν αὖθις Σκηπίωνι.

Πολεμοῦντες μὲν οὖν ἀήττητοι γεγόνασιν ἀμφότεροι, περὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἔπταισεν ἐξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Κάτων δ', οἵπερ ἦσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατώτατοι καὶ μέγιστοι, πᾶσιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντιπάλοις χρώμενος καὶ μέχρι γήρως ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀπτῶτα διετήρησεν
4 ἑαυτόν. πλείστας δὲ καὶ φυγὼν δημοσίας δίκας καὶ διώξας πολλὰς μὲν εἷλε, πάσας δ' ἀπέφυγε, πρόβλημα τοῦ βίου καὶ δραστήριον ὄργανον ἔχων τὸν λόγον, ᾧ δικαιότερον ἄν τις ἢ τύχῃ καὶ δαίμονι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν παρ' ἀξίαν ἀνατιθείη. μέγα γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ 35

Aristides was not the foremost man in any one of his victories, but Miltiades has the chief honour of Marathon, Themistocles of Salamis, and at Plataea, Herodotus[1] says it was Pausanias who won that fairest of all victories, while even for second honours Aristides has such rivals as Sophanes, Ameinias, Callimachus, and Cynaegeirus, who displayed the greatest valour in those actions. Cato, on the other hand, was not only chief in the plans and actions of the Spanish war during his own consulate, but also at Thermopylae, when he was but a tribune in the army and another was consul, he got the glory of the victory, opening up great mountain passes for the Romans to rush through upon Antiochus, and swinging the war round into the king's rear, when he had eyes only for what was in front of him. That victory was manifestly the work of Cato, and it not only drove Asia out of Hellas, but made it afterwards accessible to Scipio.

It is true that both were always victorious in war, but in politics Aristides got a fall, being driven into a minority and ostracised by Themistocles. Cato, on the contrary, though he had for his antagonists almost all the greatest and ablest men in Rome, and though he kept on wrestling with them up to his old age, never lost his footing. He was involved in countless civil processes, both as plaintiff and defendant; as plaintiff, he often won his case, as defendant, he never lost it, thanks to that bulwark and efficacious weapon of his life, his eloquence. To this, more justly than to fortune and the guardian genius of the man, we may ascribe the fact that he was never visited with disgrace. That was a great

[1] ix. 64.

φιλοσόφῳ τοῦτο προσεμαρτύρησεν Ἀντίπατρος γράφων περὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν εἶχεν.

III. Ὅτι μὲν δὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀρετῆς οὐ κτᾶται τελειοτέραν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι· ταύτης δέ που μόριον οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν οἰκονομικὴν οὐ μικρὸν τίθενται· καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις οἴκων τι σύστημα καὶ κεφάλαιον οὖσα ῥώννυται πρὸς τὰ δημόσια τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις τῶν πολιτῶν εὐθενούντων, ὅπου καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐξοικίσας μὲν ἄργυρον,
2 ἐξοικίσας δὲ χρυσὸν τῆς Σπάρτης, νόμισμα δὲ διεφθαρμένου πυρὶ σιδήρου θέμενος αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρυφῶντα καὶ ὕπουλα καὶ φλεγμαίνοντα τοῦ πλούτου περιελών, ὅπως εὐπορήσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων ἅπαντες, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς νομοθέτης προὐνόησε, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ πένητα σύνοικον ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοῦ πλου-
3 σίου καὶ ὑπερόγκου φοβηθείς. φαίνεται τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Κάτων οὐδέν τι φαυλότερος οἴκου προστάτης ἢ πόλεως γενόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ηὔξησε τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον καὶ κατέστη διδάσκαλος οἰκονομίας καὶ γεωργίας ἑτέροις, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα περὶ τούτων συνταξάμενος· Ἀριστείδης δὲ τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην συνδιέβαλεν ὡς οἰκοφθόρον καὶ πτωχοποιὸν καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κεκτη-
4 μένοις ὠφέλιμον. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν Ἡσίοδος

tribute which was paid Aristotle the philosopher by Antipater, when he wrote concerning him, after his death, that in addition to all his other gifts, the man had also the gift of persuasion.

III. Man has no higher capacity than that for conducting cities and states, as is generally admitted. But the ability to conduct a household enters in no small degree into this higher political capacity, as most believe. For the city is but an organised sum total of households, and has public vigour only as its citizens prosper in their private lives. When Lycurgus banished both silver and gold from Sparta, and introduced there a coinage of iron that had been ruined by fire, he did not set his fellow citizens free from the duty of domestic economy. He merely removed the swollen and feverish wantonness of wealth, and so provided that all alike might have an abundance of the necessary and useful things of life. He did this because better than any other ancient legislator, he foresaw that the helpless, homeless, and poverty-stricken citizen was a greater menace to the commonwealth than one who was rich and ostentatious. Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recognized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others, and compiled many useful precepts on these subjects. Aristides, on the other hand, was so poor as to bring even his righteousness into disrepute, as ruining a household, reducing a man to beggary, and profiting everybody rather than its possessor. And yet Hesiod[1] has much to say by

[1] *Works and Days*, 309.

πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομίαν παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς εἴρηκε καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ὡς ἀδικίας ἀρχὴν λελοιδόρηκεν, εὖ δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ πεποίηται·

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν
οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἀλλά μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἦσαν
καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες ἐΰξεστοι καὶ ὀϊστοί·

ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀμελοῦντας οἰκίας καὶ ποριζομένους ἐξ ἀδικίας. οὐ γάρ, ὡς τοὔλαιον οἱ ἰατροί φασι τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς ὠφελιμώτατον, τοῖς δ' ἐντὸς βλαβερώτατον, οὕτως ὁ δίκαιος ἑτέροις μέν ἐστι χρήσιμος, αὑτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀκηδής, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταύτῃ πεπηρῶσθαι τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ πολιτικόν, εἴπερ, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ προῖκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις οὐδὲ ταφὴν αὑτῷ καταλιπέσθαι προὐνόησεν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτωνος οἶκος ἄχρι γένους τετάρτου στρατηγοὺς καὶ ὑπάτους τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρεῖχε· καὶ γὰρ υἱωνοὶ καὶ τούτων ἔτι παῖδες ἦρξαν ἀρχὰς τὰς μεγίστας· τῆς δ' Ἀριστείδου τοῦ πρωτεύσαντος Ἑλλήνων γενεᾶς ἡ πολλὴ καὶ ἄπορος πενία τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἀγυρτικοὺς κατέβαλε πίνακας, τοὺς δὲ δημοσίῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐράνῳ δι' ἔνδειαν ὑπέχειν ἠνάγκασεν, οὐδενὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄξιον ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρονῆσαι παρέσχεν.

IV. Ἦ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀμφιλογίαν ἔχει; πενία γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οὐδαμοῦ μὲν δι' αὑτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπου δεῖγμα ῥαθυμίας ἔστίν, ἀκρασίας, πολυτελείας,

way of exhorting us to righteousness allied with domestic economy, and abuses idleness as a source of injustice ; Homer also says well :—

> "Labour I never liked,
> Nor household thrift, which breeds good children.
> But ships equipped with oars were ever my delight,
> Battles and polished javelins and arrows," [1]

implying that the men who neglect their households are the very ones to live by injustice. Oil, as physicians tell us, is very beneficial when externally applied, though very injurious when used internally. But the righteous is not so. He is not helpful to others, while heedless of himself and his family. Indeed, the poverty of Aristides would seem to have been a blemish on his political career, if, as most writers state, he had not foresight enough to leave his poor daughters a marriage portion,[2] or even the cost of his own burial. And so it fell out that the family of Cato furnished Rome with prætors and consuls down to the fourth generation, for his grandsons, and their sons after them, filled the highest offices of state. Whereas, though Aristides was foremost of the Greeks, the abject poverty of his descendants forced some to ply a fortune-teller's trade,[3] and others, for very want, to solicit the public bounty, while it robbed them all of every ambition to excel, or even to be worthy of their great ancestor.

IV. Possibly this point invites discussion. Poverty is never dishonourable in itself, but only when it is a mark of sloth, intemperance, extravagance, or

[1] *Odyssey*, xiv. 222 ff., Palmer's translation.
[2] *Aristides*, xxvii. 1. [3] *Aristides*, xxvii. 3.

ἀλογιστίας, ἀνδρὶ δὲ σώφρονι καὶ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ δημοσιεύοντι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἁπάσαις συνοῦσα μεγαλοψυχίας ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλο-
2 φροσύνης σημεῖον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πράττειν μεγάλα φροντίζοντα μικρῶν, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς δεομένοις βοηθεῖν πολλῶν αὐτὸν δεόμενον. μέγα δ' εἰς πολιτείαν ἐφόδιον οὐχὶ πλοῦτος, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκεια, τῷ μηδενὸς ἰδίᾳ τῶν περιττῶν δεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐδεμίαν ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσα τῶν δημοσίων. ἀπροσδεὴς μὲν γὰρ ἁπλῶς ὁ θεός, ἀνθρωπίνης δ' ἀρετῆς, ᾗ συνάγεται πρὸς τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἡ χρεία, τοῦτο
3 τελειότατον καὶ θειότατον. ὡς γὰρ σῶμα τὸ 35
καλῶς πρὸς εὐεξίαν κεκραμένον οὔτ' ἐσθῆτος οὔτε τροφῆς δεῖται περιττῆς, οὕτω καὶ βίος καὶ οἶκος ὑγιαίνων ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων διοικεῖται. δεῖ δὲ τῇ χρείᾳ σύμμετρον ἔχειν τὴν κτῆσιν· ὡς ὅ γε πολλὰ συνάγων, ὀλίγοις δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ' εἴτε μὴ δεῖται, τῆς παρασκευῆς ὧν οὐκ ὀρέγεται μάταιος, εἴτ' ὀρέγεται, μικρολογίᾳ κολούων τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἄθλιος.

Αὐτοῦ γέ τοι Κάτωνος ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην·
4 εἰ μὲν ἀπολαυστὸν ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι, τί σεμνύνῃ τῷ πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἀρκεῖσθαι μετρίοις; εἰ δὲ λαμπρόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἄρτῳ τε χρῆσθαι τῷ προστυχόντι καὶ πίνειν οἶον ἐργάται πίνουσι καὶ θεράποντες οἶνον καὶ πορφύρας μὴ δεηθῆναι μηδὲ οἰκίας κεκονιαμένης, οὐδὲν οὔτ' Ἀριστείδης οὔτ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας οὔτε Μάνιος Κούριος οὔτε Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος ἐνέλιπον τοῦ προσ-

thoughtlessness. When, on the other hand, it is the handmaid of a sober, industrious, righteous, and brave man, who devotes all his powers to the service of the people, it is the sign of a lofty spirit that harbours no mean thoughts. It is impossible for a man to do great things when his thoughts are busy with little things; nor can he aid the many who are in need when he himself is in need of many things. A great equipment for public service consists, not in wealth, but in contented independence, which requires no private superfluities, and so puts no hindrance in the way of serving the commonwealth. God alone is absolutely free from wants; but that is the most perfect and god-like quality in human excellence which reduces man's wants to their lowest terms. For as a body which is well tempered and vigorous needs no superfluous food or raiment, so a healthy individual or family life can be conducted with the simplest outlays. A man should make his gains tally with his needs. He who heaps up much substance and uses little of it, is not contented and independent. If he does not need it, he is a fool for providing what he does not crave; and if he craves it, he makes himself wretched by parsimoniously curtailing his enjoyment of it.

Indeed, I would fain ask Cato himself this question: "If wealth is a thing to be enjoyed, why do you plume yourself on being satisfied with little when possessed of much?" But if it be a fine thing, as indeed it is, to eat ordinary bread, and to drink such wine as labourers and servants drink, and not to want purple robes nor even plastered houses, then Aristides and Epaminondas and Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius were perfectly right in turning

ἥκοντος, χαίρειν ἐάσαντες τὴν κτῆσιν ὧν τὴν
5 χρῆσιν ἀπεδοκίμαζον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀν-
θρώπῳ γογγυλίδας ἥδιστον ὄψον πεποιημένῳ καὶ
δι' αὐτοῦ ταύτας ἕψοντι, ματτούσης ἅμα τῆς
γυναικὸς ἄλφιτα, τοσαῦτα περὶ ἀσσαρίου θρυλεῖν
καὶ γράφειν ἀφ' ἧς ἄν τις ἐργασίας τάχιστα
πλούσιος γένοιτο. μέγα γὰρ τὸ εὐτελὲς καὶ
αὔταρκες, ὅτι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς φρον-
6 τίδος ἀπαλλάττει τῶν περιττῶν. διὸ καὶ τοῦτό
φασιν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου δίκῃ τὸν Ἀριστείδην εἰπεῖν,
ὡς αἰσχύνεσθαι πενίαν προσήκει τοῖς ἀκουσίως
πενομένοις, τοῖς δ', ὥσπερ αὐτός, ἑκουσίως, ἐγκαλ-
λωπίζεσθαι. γελοῖον γὰρ οἴεσθαι ῥαθυμίας εἶναι
τὴν Ἀριστείδου πενίαν, ᾧ παρῆν αἰσχρὸν εἰργα-
σμένῳ μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἕνα σκυλεύσαντι βάρβαρον ἢ
μίαν σκηνὴν καταλαβόντι πλουσίῳ γενέσθαι.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

V. Στρατηγίαι δὲ αἱ μὲν Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ὡς
μεγάλοις πράγμασι μέγα προσέθηκαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
Ἀριστείδου τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα καὶ
πρῶτα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων ἐστίν, ὁ Μαραθών,
ἡ Σαλαμίς, αἱ Πλαταιαί. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον δήπου
παραβαλεῖν τῷ Ξέρξῃ τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὰ
περιαιρεθέντα τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν πόλεων τείχη ταῖς
τοσαύταις μὲν ἐν γῇ, τοσαύταις δ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ
2 πεσούσαις μυριάσιν· ἐν οἷς Ἀριστείδης ἔργῳ
μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐλείπετο, δόξης δὲ καὶ στεφάνων,
ὥσπερ ἀμέλει πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων, ὑφήκατο
τοῖς μᾶλλον δεομένοις, ὅτι καὶ πάντων τούτων
διέφερεν.

their backs on the gaining of what they scorned to use. Surely it was not worth while for a man who, like Cato, esteemed turnips a delectable dish and cooked them himself, while his wife was kneading bread, to babble so much about a paltry copper, and write on the occupation in which one might soonest get rich. Great is the simple life, and great its independence, but only because it frees a man from the anxious desire of superfluous things. Hence it was that Aristides, as we are told, remarked at the trial of Callias[1] that only those who were poor in spite of themselves should be ashamed of their poverty; those who, like himself, chose poverty, should glory in it. And surely it were ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was due to his sloth, when, without doing anything disgraceful, but merely by stripping a single Barbarian, or seizing a single tent, he might have made himself rich. So much on this head.

V. The military campaigns of Cato made no great addition to the Roman empire, which was great already; but those of Aristides include the fairest, most brilliant, and most important actions of the Greeks, namely, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. And certainly Antiochus is not worthy to be compared with Xerxes, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish cities with the destruction of so many myriads of Barbarians both by land and sea. On these occasions Aristides was inferior to no one in actual service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did wealth and substance, to those who wanted them more, because he was superior to all these things also.

[1] *Aristides*, xxv. 5.

Ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μέμφομαι μὲν Κάτωνος τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἁπάντων τίθεσθαι· καίτοι φησὶν ἔν τινι λόγῳ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἄτοπον εἶναι· τελειότερος δέ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τοῦ πολλάκις ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντος ὁ μηδ' ἑτέρων τοῦτο ποιούντων
3 δεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἀφιλότιμον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς πρᾳότητα πολιτικὴν ἐφόδιον, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἡ φιλοτιμία χαλεπὸν καὶ φθόνου γονιμώτατον, ἧς ὁ μὲν ἀπήλλακτο παντάπασιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλῆς μετεῖχεν. Ἀριστείδης μέν γε Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὰ μέγιστα συμπράττων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ δορυφορῶν ὤρθωσε
4 τὰς Ἀθήνας, Κάτων δ' ἀντιπράττων Σκηπίωνι μικροῦ μὲν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἀήττητον Ἀννίβαν καθεῖλε, τέλος δὲ μηχανώμενος ἀεί τινας ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αἰσχίστῃ κλοπῆς καταδίκῃ περιέβαλεν.

VI. Ἦν τοίνυν πλείστοις ὁ Κάτων κεκόσμηκε καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπαίνοις ἀεὶ σωφροσύνην Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἄθικτον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ καθαρὰν ἐτήρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὁ παρ' ἀξίαν ἅμα καὶ παρ' ὥραν γάμος οὐ μικρὰν οὐδὲ φαύλην εἰς τοῦτο διαβολὴν κατεσκέδασε. πρεσβύτην 35
γὰρ ἤδη τοσοῦτον ἐνηλίκῳ παιδὶ καὶ γυναικὶ νύμφῃ παιδὸς ἐπιγῆμαι κόρην ὑπηρέτου καὶ δημοσιεύοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ πατρὸς οὐδαμοῦ καλόν,

For my own part, I do not blame Cato for his constant boasting, and for rating himself above everybody else, although he does say, in one of his speeches, that self-praise and self-depreciation are alike absurd. But I regard the man who is often lauding himself as less complete in excellence than one who does not even want others to do so. Freedom from ambition is no slight requisite for the gentleness which should mark a statesman; and, on the contrary, ambition is harsh, and the greatest fomenter of envy. From this spirit Aristides was wholly free, whereas Cato was very full of it. For example, Aristides co-operated with Themistocles in his greatest achievements, and as one might say, stood guard over him while he was in command, and thereby saved Athens; while Cato, by his opposition to Scipio, almost vitiated and ruined that wonderful campaign of his against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew the invincible Hannibal,[1] and finally, by perpetually inventing all sorts of suspicions and calumnies against him, drove him out of Rome, and brought down on his brother's head a most shameful condemnation for embezzlement.

VI. Once more, that temperance which Cato always decked out with the fairest praises, Aristides maintained and practised in unsullied purity; whereas Cato, by marrying unworthily and unseasonably, fell under no slight or insignificant censure in this regard. It was surely quite indecent that a man of his years should bring home as stepmother to his grown-up son and that son's bride, a girl whose father was his assistant and served the public for hire. Whether he did this merely for

[1] At Zama, 202 B.C.

ἀλλ εἴτε πρὸς ἡδονὴν ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν εἴτ' ὀργῇ διὰ τὴν ἑταίραν ἀμυνόμενος τὸν υἱόν, αἰσχύνην
2 ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ πρόφασις. ᾧ δ' αὐτὸς ἐχρήσατο λόγῳ κατειρωνευόμενος τὸ μειράκιον, οὐκ ἦν ἀληθής. εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίως τεκνῶσαι, γάμον ἔδει λαβεῖν γενναῖον ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκεψάμενον, οὐχ ἕως μὲν ἐλάνθανεν ἀνεγγύῳ γυναικὶ καὶ κοινῇ συγκοιμώμενος ἀγαπᾶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφωράθη ποιήσασθαι πενθερόν, ὃν ῥᾷστα πείσειν, οὐχ ᾧ κάλλιστα κηδεύσειν ἔμελλεν.

his own pleasure, or in anger, to punish his son for objecting to his mistress, both what he did and what led him to do it were disgraceful. And the sarcastic reason for it which he gave his son was not a true one. For had he wished to beget more sons as good, he should have planned at the outset to marry a woman of family, instead of contenting himself, as long as he could do so secretly, with the society of a low concubine, and when he was discovered, making a man his father-in-law whom he could most easily persuade, rather than one whose alliance would bring him most honour.

CIMON

ΚΙΜΩΝ

1. Περιπόλτας ὁ μάντις ἐκ Θετταλίας εἰς Βοιωτίαν Ὀφέλταν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαοὺς καταγαγὼν γένος εὐδοκιμῆσαν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους κατέλιπεν, οὗ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ κατῴκησεν, ἣν πρώτην πόλιν ἔσχον ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους φύσει μάχιμοι καὶ ἀνδρώδεις γενόμενοι καταναλώθησαν ἐν ταῖς Μηδικαῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς καὶ τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀφειδήσαντες ἑαυτῶν·
2 λείπεται δὲ παῖς ὀρφανὸς γονέων, ὄνομα Δάμων, παρωνύμιον δὲ Περιπόλτας, πολὺ δή τι καὶ σώματος κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς φρονήματι τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ὑπεραίρων νέους, ἄλλως δ' ἀπαίδευτος καὶ σκληρὸς τὸ ἦθος.

Τούτου Ῥωμαῖος ἡγεμὼν σπείρας τινὸς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ διαχειμαζούσης ἐρασθεὶς ἄρτι τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλλαχότος, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε πειρῶν καὶ διδούς, δῆλος ἦν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος βίας, 47
ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν τότε λυπρὰ πραττούσης καὶ διὰ μικρότητα καὶ πενίαν παρορωμένης.
3 τοῦτο δὴ δεδιὼς ὁ Δάμων, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν αὐτὴν δι' ὀργῆς πεποιημένος, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ συνίστη τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὐ πολλοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦ λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ σύμπαντες

CIMON

I. Peripoltas the seer, who conducted King Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into Boeotia, left a posterity there which was in high repute for many generations. The greater part of them settled in Chaeroneia, which was the first city they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of this posterity were naturally men of war and courage, and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions and the contests with the Gauls, because they did not spare themselves. There remained, however, an orphan boy, Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname, who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and in vigour of spirit, though otherwise he was untrained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering in Chaeroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions,—a few only, that they might escape notice. There were

ἑκκαίδεκα γενόμενοι χρίονται μὲν αἰθάλῳ τὰ πρόσωπα νυκτός, ἐμπιόντες δὲ ἄκρατον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσπίπτουσι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν θύοντι, καὶ καταβαλόντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
4 οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετέστησαν. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς ἡ τῶν Χαιρωνέων βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα θάνατον αὐτῶν κατέγνω· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολόγημα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἑσπέρας δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστί, κοινῇ δειπνούντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμωνα παρεισπεσόντες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἀπέσφαξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πάλιν ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

5 Ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Λεύκιος Λούκουλλος ἐπί τινα πρᾶξιν μετὰ δυνάμεως παρερχόμενος. ἐπιστήσας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων προσφάτων ὄντων ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμενος εὗρε τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνηδικημένην· καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας
6 ἀναλαβὼν ἀπήγαγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ Δάμωνα λῃστείαις καὶ καταδρομαῖς πορθοῦντα τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσκείμενον ὑπηγάγοντο πρεσβείαις καὶ ψηφίσμασι φιλανθρώποις οἱ πολῖται, κατελθόντα δὲ γυμνασίαρχον κατέστησαν· εἶτ' ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ πυριατηρίῳ διέφθειραν. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εἰδώλων τινῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προφαινομένων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐξακουομένων, ὡς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγουσι, τὰς θύρας ἀνῳκοδόμησαν τοῦ πυριατηρίου· καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ τῷ τόπῳ γειτνιῶντες οἴονταί τινας ὄψεις καὶ φωνὰς τα-
7 χώδεις φέρεσθαι. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ (διασώζονται γὰρ ἔνιοι, μάλιστα τῆς Φωκίδος

sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacrificing in the market-place, slew him, together with many of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chaeroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city afterwards made to its Roman rulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the town-hall, slew them, and again fled the city.

Now about that time[1] it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with predatory forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasiarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbours think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon's family (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in

[1] 74 B.C. (?)

περὶ Στεῖριν, αἰολίζοντες) ἀσβολωμένους καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ τὸν Δάμωνα πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἀσβόλῳ χρισάμενον ἐξελθεῖν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀστυγείτονες ὄντες Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Χαιρωνεῦσιν ἐμισθώσαντο Ῥωμαϊκὸν συκοφάντην, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα κατενεγκὼν ἐδίωκε φόνου τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωνος ἀνῃρημένων, ἡ δὲ κρίσις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας (οὔπω γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγοὺς διεπέμ-
2 ποντο), οἱ λέγοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὴν Λουκούλλου μαρτυρίαν, γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἐκεῖνος ἐμαρτύρησε τἀληθῆ, καὶ τὴν δίκην οὕτως ἀπέφυγεν ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἰκόνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέστησαν, ἡμεῖς δ', εἰ καὶ πολλαῖς ἡλικίαις λειπόμεθα, τὴν μὲν χάριν οἰόμεθα διατείνειν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς
3 νῦν ὄντας, εἰκόνα δὲ πολὺ καλλίονα νομίζοντες εἶναι τῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπομιμουμένης τὴν τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐμφανίζουσαν, ἀναληψόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ τῶν παραλλήλων βίων τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός, τἀληθῆ διεξιόντες. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡ τῆς μνήμης χάρις· ἀληθοῦς δὲ μαρτυρίας οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἠξίωσε μισθὸν λαβεῖν ψευδῆ καὶ πεπλασμένην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν.

4 Ὥσπερ γὰρ τοὺς τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα χάριν εἴδη ζωγραφοῦντας, ἂν προσῇ τι μικρὸν αὐτοῖς δυσχερές, ἀξιοῦμεν μήτε παραλιπεῖν τοῦτο τελέως μήτε ἐξακριβοῦν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσχράν, τὸ δ' ἀνομοίαν παρέχεται τὴν ὄψιν· οὕτως, ἐπεὶ

Phocis, Aeolians in speech) are called "Asbolomeni," or "Besooted," because Damon smeared himself with soot before he went forth to do his deed of murder.

II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbours and rivals of the Chaeroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the praetor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending praetors to Greece), and the city's advocates invoked the testimony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the praetor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemnation. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favour extends even down to us who are now living; and since we believe that a portrait which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, und we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favour to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and graceful features that, in case of any slight imperfection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasise it, because the one course makes the portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In

χαλεπόν ἐστι, μᾶλλον δ' ἴσως ἀμήχανον, ἀμεμφῆ καὶ καθαρὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδεῖξαι βίον, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς 48
ἀναπληρωτέον ὥσπερ ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
5 τὰς δ' ἐκ πάθους τινὸς ἢ πολιτικῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπιτρεχούσας ταῖς πράξεσιν ἁμαρτίας καὶ κῆρας ἐλλείμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τινος ἢ κακίας πονηρεύματα νομίζοντας οὐ δεῖ πάνυ προθύμως ἐναποσημαίνειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ περιττῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἰδουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, εἰ καλὸν οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ἀναμφισβήτητον εἰς ἀρετὴν ἦθος γεγονὸς ἀποδίδωσιν.

III. Ὁ δ' οὖν Λούκουλλος ἐδόκει σκοποῦσιν ἡμῖν τῷ Κίμωνι παραβλητέος εἶναι. πολεμικοὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους λαμπροί, πρᾷοι δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων ἀναπνοὴν ταῖς πατρίσι παρασχόντες, ἕκαστος δέ τις αὐτῶν στήσαντες τρόπαια καὶ
2 νίκας ἀνελόμενοι περιβοήτους. οὔτε γὰρ Ἑλλήνων Κίμωνος οὔτε Ῥωμαίων Λουκούλλου πρότερος οὐδεὶς οὕτω μακρὰν πολεμῶν προῆλθεν, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένων τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Διόνυσον, εἴ τέ τι Περσέως πρὸς Αἰθίοπας ἢ Μήδους καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἢ Ἰάσονος ἔργον ἀξιόπιστον ἐκ τῶν τότε χρόνων μνήμῃ φερόμενον εἰς
3 τοὺς νῦν ἀφῖκται. κοινὸν δέ πως αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς γέγονε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἑκατέρου μὲν συντρίψαντος, οὐδετέρου δὲ καταλύσαντος τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν. μάλιστα δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ τὰς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτας ὑγρότης καὶ δαψίλεια καὶ τὸ νεαρὸν καὶ ἀνειμένον ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ παραπλήσιον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἰδεῖν ὑπάρχει.

like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the truth into fullest semblance; but those transgressions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particular excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were tenderly defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their countries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won victories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Aethiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospitalities, as well as the ardour and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Pos-

παραλείπομεν δ' ἴσως καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ἃς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως αὐτῆς συναγαγεῖν.

IV. Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητρὸς ἦν Ἡγησιπύλης, γένος Θρᾴττης, θυγατρὸς Ὀλόρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχελάου καὶ Μελανθίου ποιήμασιν εἰς αὐτὸν Κίμωνα γεγραμμένοις ἱστόρηται. διὸ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ ἱστορικὸς τοῖς περὶ Κίμωνα κατὰ γένος προσήκων Ὀλόρου τε πατρὸς ἦν, εἰς τὸν πρόγονον ἀναφέροντος τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν,
2 καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ τελευτῆσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκαπτῇ ὕλῃ (τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρίον) λέγεται φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ, μνῆμα δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν λειψάνων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κομισθέντων ἐν τοῖς Κιμωνείοις δείκνυται παρὰ τὸν Ἐλπινίκης τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς τάφον. ἀλλὰ Θουκυδίδης μὲν Ἁλιμούσιος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην Λακιάδαι.

3 Μιλτιάδης μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὀφλὼν δίκην καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔκτισιν εἱρχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, Κίμων δὲ μειράκιον παντάπασιν ἀπολειφθεὶς μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔτι κόρης οὔσης καὶ ἀγάμου τὸν πρῶτον ἠδόξει χρόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κακῶς ἤκουεν ὡς ἄτακτος καὶ πολυπότης καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κίμωνι προσεοικὼς τὴν φύσιν, ὃν δι' εὐήθειάν φασι Κοάλεμον προσαγο-
4 ρευθῆναι. Στησίμβροτος δ' ὁ Θάσιος περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τι χρόνον τῷ Κίμωνι γεγονώς φησιν αὐτὸν οὔτε μουσικὴν οὔτε ἄλλο τι μάθημα τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἐκδιδαχθῆναι, δεινότητός τε καὶ στωμυλίας

sibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaüs and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian—and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon—was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace.[1] And it is said that Thucydides died in Skapte Hylé, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, hard by the tomb of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadae.

Now Miltiades, who had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was of about Cimon's time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency

[1] Thuc. iv. 105.

Ἀττικῆς ὅλως ἀπηλλάχθαι, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐνυπάρχειν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός,

φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν,

κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον Ἡρακλέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στησιμβρότου γεγραμμένοις ἐπειπεῖν.

5 Ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν τῇ ἀδελφῇ. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως τὴν Ἐλπινίκην εὔτακτόν τινα γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Πολύγνωτον ἐξαμαρτεῖν τὸν ζωγράφον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν ἐν τῇ Πεισιανακτείῳ τότε καλουμένῃ, Ποικίλῃ δὲ νῦν στοᾷ, γράφοντα τὰς 4 Τρῳάδας τὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης ποιῆσαι πρόσωπον 6 ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς Ἐλπινίκης. ὁ δὲ Πολύγνωτος οὐκ ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐργολαβίας ἔγραφε τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οἵ τε συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ Μελάνθιος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε
Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.

7 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν Ἐλπινίκην οὐ κρύφα τῷ Κίμωνι, φανερῶς δὲ γημαμένην συνοικῆσαι λέγουσιν, ἀξίου τῆς εὐγενείας νυμφίου διὰ τὴν πενίαν ἀποροῦσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλίας τῶν εὐπόρων τις Ἀθήνησιν ἐρασθεὶς προσῆλθε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδίκην ἐκτίνειν ἕτοιμος ὢν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, αὐτήν τε πεισθῆναι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τῷ Καλλίᾳ συνοικίσαι τὴν Ἐλπινίκην.

of speech; that in his outward bearing there was much nobility and truthfulness; that the fashion of the man's spirit was rather Peloponnesian,

"Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,"

as Euripides says of Heracles,[1] a citation which we may add to what Stesimbrotus wrote.

While he was still a youth he was accused of improper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other cases too they say that Elpinicé was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianacteum, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of Laodicé a portrait of Elpinicé. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion:—

"He at his own lavish outlay the gods' great fanes, and the market
Named Cecropia, adorned; demigods' valour his theme."

Still, there are some who say that Elpinicé did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage; but that when Callias, a wealthy Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinicé to Callias to wife.

[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, 473.

8 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωτικοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἔνοχος γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀστερίας τῷ γένει Σαλαμινίας καὶ πάλιν Μνήστρας τινὸς ὁ ποιητὴς Μελάνθιος μνημονεύει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παίζων δι' ἐλεγείας,
9 ὡς σπουδαζομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. δῆλος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγακλέους, κατὰ νόμους δ' αὐτῷ συμβιώσασαν ὁ Κίμων ἐμπαθέστερον διατεθεὶς καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἴ τι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τοῦ πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν, ὧν Παναίτιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οἴεται ποιητὴν γεγονέναι τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις εἰκάζων.

V. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἤθους ἀγαστὰ καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος. οὔτε γὰρ τόλμῃ Μιλτιάδου λειπόμενος οὔτε συνέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, δικαιότερος ἀμφοῖν ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῖς πολεμικαῖς οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀποδέων ἀρεταῖς ἐκείνων ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ὑπερβαλέσθαι
2 νέος ὢν ἔτι καὶ πολέμων ἄπειρος. ὅτε γὰρ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιόντων Μήδων Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπειθε προέμενον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντα πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέσθαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν πολλῶν τὸ τόλμημα πρῶτος Κίμων ὤφθη διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φαιδρὸς ἀνιὼν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ἵππου τινὰ χαλινὸν ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ, διὰ χειρῶν κομίζων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἱππικῆς ἀλκῆς, ἀλλὰ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ
3 παρόντι τῆς πόλεως δεομένης. ἀναθεὶς δὲ τὸν

However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is clear that he was even too passionately attached to his lawful wife, Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus and grand-daughter of Megacles, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaüs, as Panaetius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon's character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the Medes made their invasion, and Themistocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle,

χαλινὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν κρεμαμένων ἀσπίδων, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ, κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἀρχὴ τοῦ θαρρεῖν γενόμενος.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὐ μεμπτός, ὡς Ἴων ὁ ποιητής φησιν, ἀλλὰ μέγας, οὔλῃ καὶ πολλῇ τριχὶ κομῶν τὴν κεφαλήν. φανεὶς δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα λαμπρὸς καὶ ἀνδρώδης ταχὺ δόξαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μετ' εὐνοίας ἔσχεν, ἀθροιζομένων πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἄξια τοῦ
4 Μαραθῶνος ἤδη διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράσσειν. ὁρμήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἄσμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μεστὸς ὢν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνῆγε πρὸς[1] τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχάς, εὐάρμοστον ὄντα καὶ προσφιλῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς διὰ πρᾳότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ηὔξησεν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, τὴν εὐφυΐαν ἐνορῶν τῷ ἤθει, καὶ ποιούμενος οἷον ἀντίπαλον πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ τόλμαν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μήδων φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπέμφθη στρατηγός, κατὰ θάλατταν οὔπω τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων, ἔτι δὲ Παυσανίᾳ τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἑπομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἀεὶ παρεῖχε τοὺς πολίτας κόσμῳ τε θαυμαστοὺς καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολὺ πάντων δια-
2 φέροντας· ἔπειτα Παυσανίου τοῖς μὲν βαρ- 482
βάροις διαλεγομένου περὶ προδοσίας καὶ βασιλεῖ γράφοντος ἐπιστολάς, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις τραχέως καὶ αὐθαδῶς προσφερομένου καὶ πολλὰ δι'

[1] πρὸς supplied by Stephanus, and confirmed by S; Bekker supplied εἰς.

he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and went down to the sea, whereat many were first made to take heart.

He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis,[1] he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Marathon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honours and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander,[2] before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausanias and the Lacedaemonians. During this campaign, the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of

[1] 480 B.C. [2] 478–477 B.C.

ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὄγκον ἀνόητον ὑβρίζοντος, ὑπολαμβάνων πρᾴως τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐξομιλῶν ἔλαθεν οὐ δι' ὅπλων τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ καὶ ἤθει παρελόμενος.
3 προσετίθεντο γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ Παυσανίου μὴ φέροντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἅμα προσήγοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις πέμποντες ἔφραζον, ὡς ἀδοξούσης τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ ταραττομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν Παυσανίαν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ παρθένον τινὰ Βυζαντίαν ἐπιφανῶν γονέων, ὄνομα Κλεονίκην, ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Παυσανίου μεταπεμπομένου, τοὺς μὲν γονεῖς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ φόβου προέσθαι τὴν παῖδα, τὴν δὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου δεηθεῖσαν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ φῶς, διὰ σκότους καὶ σιωπῆς τῇ κλίνῃ προσιοῦσαν ἤδη τοῦ Παυσανίου καθεύδοντος, ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ ἀνα-
5 τρέψαι τὸ λυχνίον ἄκουσαν· τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου ταραχθέντα καὶ σπασάμενον[1] τὸ παρακείμενον ἐγχειρίδιον, ὥς τινος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροῦ βαδίζοντος, πατάξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὴν παρθένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐᾶν τὸν Παυσανίαν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ εἴδωλον αὐτῷ φοιτῶσαν εἰς τὸν ὕπνον ὀργῇ λέγειν τόδε τὸ ἡρῷον·

Στεῖχε δίκης ἆσσον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις.

ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες οἱ

[1] καὶ σπασάμενον with S : σπασάμενον.

power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to Cimon and Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent parentage, Cleonicé by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Pausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse :—

"Draw thou nigh to thy doom ; 'tis evil for men to be wanton."

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure

σύμμαχοι μετὰ τοῦ Κίμωνος ἐξεπολιόρκησαν
6 αὐτόν. ὁ δ' ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τῷ φάσματι ταραττόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, κατέφυγε πρὸς τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρῃτεῖτο τὴν ὀργήν. ἡ δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσα ταχέως ἔφη παύσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενόμενον, αἰνιττομένη, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ τελευτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστόρηται.

VII. Κίμων δέ, τῶν συμμάχων ἤδη προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ, στρατηγὸς εἰς Θράκην ἔπλευσε, πυνθανόμενος Περσῶν ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Ἠϊόνα πόλιν παρὰ τῷ Στρυμόνι κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχοντας ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς περὶ
2 τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον Ἕλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς μάχῃ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα Θρᾷκας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφοίτα σῖτος, ἀναστάτους ποιῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν παραφυλάττων ἅπασαν εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστησεν, ὥστε Βούτην τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπογνόντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνεῖναι καὶ συνδιαφθεῖραι μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
3 ἑαυτόν. οὕτω δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ὠφελήθη, τῶν πλείστων τοῖς βαρβάροις συγκατακαέντων, τὴν δὲ χώραν εὐφυεστάτην οὖσαν καὶ καλλίστην οἰκῆσαι παρέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς

incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias to give up the city. Driven from Byzantium, and still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes, he had recourse to the ghost-oracle of Heracleia, and summoning up the spirit of Cleonicé, besought her to forgo her wrath. She came into his presence and said that he would soon cease from his troubles on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace,[1] for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eïon, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyed with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation. Wherefore the people permitted him to

[1] 476–475 B.C.

αὐτῷ τοὺς λιθίνους ὁ δῆμος ἀναθεῖναι συνεχώρησεν, ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ·

4 Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἵ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ' Ἠϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,
λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρυερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὗρον ἀμηχανίην.

τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ·

Ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν.
μᾶλλόν τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς πράγμασι δῆριν ἔχειν.

5 τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ· 483

Ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς
ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἐς πεδίον·
ὅν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.
οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
κοσμηταῖς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης,

dedicate the stone *Hermae,* on the first of which is the inscription :—

"Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eïon fighting,
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon's current beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and gore-flecked Ares, against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit,—despair;"

and on the second :—

"Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus hath been given;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of the brave.
All the more strong at the sight will the men of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war's dread strife to maintain;"

and on the third :—

"With the Atridae of old, from this our city, Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and divine.
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armoured Achaeans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that name to Athenians;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigour of men."

VIII. Ταῦτα καίπερ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ Κίμωνος ὄνομα δηλοῦντα τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιούτου τινὸς οὔτε Μιλτιάδης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε θαλλοῦ στέφανον αἰτοῦντι Σωφάνης ὁ Δεκελεὺς ἐκ μέσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν, οὐκ εὐγνώμονα μέν, ἀρέσασαν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τότε φωνὴν ἀφείς· "Ὅταν γάρ," ἔφη, "μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὦ Μιλτιάδη, νικήσῃς τοὺς βαρ-
2 βάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίου." διὰ τί τοίνυν τὸ Κίμωνος ὑπερηγάπησαν ἔργον; ἢ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγούντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτου δὲ καὶ ποιῆσαι κακῶς ἠδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ στρατεύσαντες, καὶ προσεκτήσαντο χώρας αὐτήν τε τὴν Ἠιόνα καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκίσαντες;

3 Ὤικισαν δὲ καὶ Σκῦρον ἑλόντος Κίμωνος ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Δόλοπες ᾤκουν τὴν νῆσον, ἐργάται κακοὶ γῆς· ληϊζόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, τελευτῶντες οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσπλεόντων παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ χρωμένων ἀπείχοντο ξένων, ἀλλὰ Θετταλούς τινας ἐμπόρους περὶ τὸ Κτήσιον
4 ὁρμισαμένους συλήσαντες εἷρξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δίκην κατεδικάσαντο τῆς πόλεως Ἀμφικτυονικήν, οὐ βουλομένων τὰ χρήματα τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ διηρπακότας ἀποδοῦναι κελευόντων, δείσαντες ἐκεῖνοι πέμπουσι γράμματα πρὸς Κίμωνα, κελεύοντες ἥκειν μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιδομένην.

VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere mentioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honour for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Deceleian rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. "When," said he, "thou hast fought out alone a victory over the Barbarians, then demand to be honoured alone." Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settlement, not only Eïon itself, but also Amphipolis.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.

5 παραλαβὼν δ' οὕτω τὴν νῆσον ὁ Κίμων τοὺς μὲν Δόλοπας ἐξήλασε καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον ἠλευθέρωσε, πυνθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν Αἰγέως φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκῦρον, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντα δόλῳ διὰ φόβον ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους τοῦ
6 βασιλέως, ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν χρησμὸς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ Θησέως λείψανα κελεύων ἀνακομίζειν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς ἥρωα πρεπόντως, ἀλλ' ἠγνόουν ὅπου κεῖται, Σκυρίων οὐχ ὁμολογούντων οὐδ' ἐώντων ἀναζητεῖν. τότε δὴ πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ σηκοῦ μόγις ἐξευρεθέντος, ἐνθέμενος ὁ Κίμων εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ τριήρη τὰ ὀστᾶ καὶ τἆλλα κοσμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτῶν σχεδὸν τετρακοσίων. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡδέως ὁ δῆμος ἔσχεν.
7 Ἔθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην. πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, Ἀψεφίων ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονεικίας οὔσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποιήσατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδάς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁρκώσας ἠνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρῖναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον.
8 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ

In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians, and made the Aegean a free sea.

On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honour him as became a hero, but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great ardour, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even because of the unusual dignity of the judges, was more animated than ever before. But

Σοφοκλέους λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον καὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, εἶτ' οἴχεσθαι δι' ὀργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τέθαπται.

IX. Συνδειπνῆσαι δὲ τῷ Κίμωνί φησιν ὁ Ἴων παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Λαομέδοντι· καὶ τῶν σπουδῶν γενομένων παρακληθέντος[1] ᾄσαι, καὶ ᾄσαντος[1] οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ᾄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι· τοὐντεῦθεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν πότῳ, τοῦ λόγου ῥυέντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Κίμωνος καὶ μνημονευομένων τῶν μεγίστων, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἓν διελθεῖν στρατήγημα τῶν ἰδίων ὡς σοφώτατον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ Σηστοῦ καὶ Βυζαντίου πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι τῷ Κίμωνι διανεῖμαι προσέταξαν, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς μὲν αὐτούς, χωρὶς δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῖς σώμασι κόσμον αὐτῶν ἔθηκεν, ᾐτιῶντο τὴν διανομὴν ὡς ἄνισον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μερίδων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἑλέσθαι τὴν ἑτέραν, ἣν δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι καταλίπωσιν, ἀγαπήσειν Ἀθηναίους. Ἡροφύτου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου συμβουλεύσαντος αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ Περσῶν μᾶλλον ἢ Πέρσας, τὸν μὲν κόσμον αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλιπον. καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Κίμων ἀπῄει γελοῖος εἶναι δοκῶν διανομεύς, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων

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[1] παρακληθέντος, ᾄσαντος Bekker corrects, after Schäfer, to παρακληθέντα, ᾄσαντα.

Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that Aeschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat, lingered only a little while at Athens, and then went off in anger to Sicily. There he died also, and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.[1] Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the exploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many Barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots, and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Herophytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributer, since

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, ii. 3.

ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ μανιάκας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ κάνδυας καὶ πορφύραν φερομένων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων γυμνὰ σώματα κακῶς ἠσκημένα πρὸς
4 ἐργασίαν παραλαβόντων. μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον οἱ τῶν ἑαλωκότων φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι καταβαίνοντες ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας ἐλυτροῦντο μεγάλων χρημάτων ἕκαστον, ὥστε τῷ Κίμωνι τεσσάρων μηνῶν τροφὰς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὑπάρξαι καὶ προσέτι τῇ πόλει χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν λύτρων περιγενέσθαι.

X. Ἤδη δ' εὐπορῶν ὁ Κίμων ἐφόδια τῆς στρατηγίας ἃ καλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔδοξεν ὠφελῆσθαι κάλλιον ἀνήλισκεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας. τῶν τε γὰρ ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφεῖλεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀδεῶς ὑπάρχῃ λαμβάνειν τῆς ὀπώρας, καὶ δεῖπνον οἴκοι παρ' αὐτῷ λιτὸν μέν, ἀρκοῦν δὲ πολλοῖς, ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐφ' ὃ τῶν πενήτων ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσῄει καὶ διατροφὴν εἶχεν ἀπράγ-
2 μονα, μόνοις τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζων. ὡς δ' Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, οὐχ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῦ Λακιαδῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸ δεῖπνον. αὐτῷ δὲ νεανίσκοι παρείποντο συνήθεις ἀμπεχόμενοι καλῶς, ὧν ἕκαστος, εἴ τις συντύχοι τῷ Κίμωνι τῶν ἀστῶν πρεσβύτερος ἠμφιεσμένος ἐνδεῶς, διημείβετο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια· καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἐφαίνετο
3 σεμνόν. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ νόμισμα κομίζοντες ἄφθονον παριστάμενοι τοῖς κομψοῖς τῶν πενήτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ σιωπῇ τῶν κερματίων ἐνέβαλλον εἰς

the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies ill-trained for labour. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a great price, so that Cimon had four months' pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honour from the enemy, to his still greater honour, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land; and every day he gave a dinner at his house, —simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says [1] that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same followers also carried with them a generous sum of money, and going up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this

[1] *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3.

τὰς χεῖρας. ὧν δὴ καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις ἔοικε μεμνῆσθαι διὰ τούτων·

4 Κἀγὼ γὰρ ηὔχουν Μητρόβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς
σὺν ἀνδρὶ θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ
καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν Πανελλήνων πρὸ τοῦ
Κίμωνι λιπαρὸν γῆρας εὐωχούμενος
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν. ὁ δὲ
λιπὼν βέβηκε πρότερος.

5 ἔτι τοίνυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Λεοντῖνός φησι τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῷτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῷτο, Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις εὔχεται·

Πλοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

Καίτοι Λίχαν γε τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου γινώσκομεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαστὸν γενόμενον ἢ ὅτι τοὺς ξένους ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις 48
ἐδείπνιζεν· ἡ δὲ Κίμωνος ἀφθονία καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλοξενίαν καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρωπίαν ὑπερέβαλεν. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις μέγα φρονεῖ δικαίως, τό τε σπέρμα τῆς τροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξέδωκαν ὑδάτων τε πηγαίων . . . . .[1] καὶ πυρὸς ἔνευσιν χρῄζουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν,[2] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῖς πολίταις πρυτανεῖον ἀποδείξας κοινόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ καρπῶν ἑτοίμων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ὅσα ὧραι καλὰ φέρουσι χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν ἅπαντα τοῖς ξένοις παρέχων, τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἐπὶ

[1] The lacuna can only be conjecturally filled.
[2] ἐδίδαξαν Bekker corrects, with Schäfer, to ἔδειξαν.

Cratinus seems to have referred in his *Archilochi*, with the words :—

> "Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe,
> Along with man divine, the rarest host that lives,
> In every way the best of all Hellenic men,
> With Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age,
> To while away the remnant of my life. But he
> Has gone before and left me."

And again, Georgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honoured for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have "the wealth of the Scopadae, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedaemon."

And yet we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon surpassed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the Athenians of olden time. For they—and their city is justly very proud of it—spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he

Κρόνου μυθολογουμένην κοινωνίαν εἰς τὸν βίον
7 αὖθις κατῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κολακείαν ὄχλου καὶ δημαγωγίαν εἶναι διαβάλλοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἐξηλέγχοντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προαιρέσεως ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ Λακωνικῆς οὔσης, ὅς γε καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπαίροντι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀντέβαινε μετ' Ἀριστείδου, καὶ πρὸς Ἐφιάλτην ὕστερον χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καταλύοντα τὴν ἐξ
8 Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν διηνέχθη, λημμάτων δὲ δημοσίων τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου πάντας ἀναπιμπλαμένους ὁρῶν, αὐτὸν ἀδέκαστον καὶ ἄθικτον ἐκ τῆ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίας καὶ πάντα προῖκα καὶ καθαρῶς πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα διὰ τέλους παρέσχε.

Λέγεταί γέ τοι Ῥοισάκην τινὰ βάρβαρον ἀποστάτην βασιλέως ἐλθεῖν μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ σπαραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν καταφυγεῖν πρὸς Κίμωνα, καὶ θεῖναι παρὰ τὴν αὔλειον αὐτοῦ φιάλας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἀργυρείων ἐμπλησάμενον Δαρεικῶν, τὴν δὲ χρυσῶν· ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ μειδιάσαντα
9 πυθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πότερον αἱρεῖται Κίμωνα μισθωτὸν ἢ φίλον ἔχειν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος φίλον "Οὐκοῦν," φάναι, "ταῦτ' ἄπιθι μετὰ σεαυτοῦ κομίζων· χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅταν δέωμαι φίλος γενόμενος."

XI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ σύμμαχοι τοὺς φόρους μὲν ἐτέλουν, ἄνδρας δὲ καὶ ναῦς ὡς ἐτάχθησαν οὐ παρεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύοντες ἤδη πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μὴ διοχλούν-

restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus,—the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man's political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy unduly, as Aristides also did. Later on he took hostile issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recompense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told, indeed, that one Rhoesaces, a Barbarian who had deserted from the King, came to Athens with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and deposited at his door two platters, one filled with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon, when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling or his friend, and on his replying, "As my friend," "Well then," said Cimon, take this money with thee and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I want it if I am thy friend."

XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither

των, οὔτε τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν οὔτ' ἄνδρας ἀπέστελλον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσηνάγκαζον αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας ὑπάγοντες δίκαις καὶ κολάζοντες
2 ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λυπηρὰν ἐποίουν, Κίμων δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ πορευόμενος βίαν μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσῆγε, χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ναῦς κενάς, ἐκείνους εἴα δελεαζομένους τῇ σχολῇ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διατρίβειν, γεωργοὺς καὶ χρηματιστὰς ἀπολέμους ἐκ πολεμικῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀνοίας γινομένους, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἀνὰ μέρος πολλοὺς ἐμβιβάζων καὶ διαπονῶν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μισθοῖς καὶ χρήμασι δεσπό-
3 τας αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων ἐποίησε. πλέοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας ἀεὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τρεφομένους καὶ ἀσκοῦντας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀστρατείας[1] ἐθισθέντες φοβεῖσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν, ἔλαθον ἀντὶ συμμάχων ὑποτελεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι γεγονότες.

XII. Καὶ μὴν αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως οὐδεὶς ἐταπείνωσε καὶ συνέστειλε τὸ φρόνημα μᾶλλον ἢ Κίμων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ ποδὸς διώκων, πρὶν διαπνεῦσαι καὶ στῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπόρθει καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ ἀφίστη καὶ προσήγετο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥστε τὴν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἄχρι Παμφυλίας παντάπασι

[1] ἀστρατείας the correction of Reiske, adopted by Sintenis and Bekker. The MSS., including S, have στρατείας, which must be referred to the Athenians. So Coraës.

manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their empire burdensome and vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no compulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants instead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand, he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging, and for ever under arms and training, and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XII. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was

2 Περσικῶν ὅπλων ἐρημῶσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς
βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς μεγάλῳ στρατῷ καὶ ναυσὶ 48
πολλαῖς ἐφεδρεύειν περὶ Παμφυλίαν, καὶ βουλό-
μενος αὐτοῖς ἄπλουν καὶ ἀνέμβατον ὅλως ὑπὸ
φόβου τὴν ἐντὸς Χελιδονίων ποιήσασθαι θάλατ-
ταν, ὥρμησεν ἄρας ἀπὸ Κνίδου καὶ Τριοπίου
διακοσίαις τριήρεσι, πρὸς μὲν τάχος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
καὶ περιαγωγὴν ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄριστα
κατεσκευασμέναις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε καὶ πλατυτέρας
ἐποίησεν αὐτὰς καὶ διάβασιν τοῖς καταστρώμασιν
ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁπλιτῶν μαχιμώτεραι
3 προσφέροιντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπιπλεύσας δὲ τῇ
πόλει τῶν Φασηλιτῶν, Ἑλλήνων μὲν ὄντων, οὐ
δεχομένων δὲ τὸν στόλον οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἀφί-
στασθαι βασιλέως, τήν τε χώραν κακῶς ἐποίει
καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι συμ-
πλέοντες αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Φασηλίτας ἐκ
παλαιοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, ἅμα μὲν τὸν Κίμωνα
κατεπράϋνον, ἅμα δὲ τοξεύοντες ὑπὲρ τὰ τείχη
βιβλίδια προσκείμενα τοῖς ὀϊστοῖς ἐξήγγελλον
4 τοῖς Φασηλίταις. τέλος δὲ διήλλαξεν[1] αὐτούς,
ὅπως δέκα τάλαντα δόντες ἀκολουθῶσι καὶ συ-
στρατεύωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους.

Ἔφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασι-
λικῶν νεῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ Φερενδάτην,
Καλλισθένης δ' Ἀριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρύου κυριώ-
τατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα
ταῖς ναυσὶ παρορμεῖν, οὐκ ὄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὀγδοή-
κοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλε-

[1] διήλλαξεν Coraës and Bekker have διήλλαξαν, as does S, referring to the Chians as reconciling the two hostile parties.

entirely cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium[1] with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well constructed for speed and manœuvring by Themistocles; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numerous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hellenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King's cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, laboured to soften Cimon's hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon made friends with them on condition that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Barbarians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry; but Callisthenes says that it was Ariomandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from

[1] About 467 B.C.

5 *οὔσας. ταύτας φθῆναι βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχθη, βιάζεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, ἂν ἑκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς μὴ βιασθεῖεν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσωρμίσαντο, προσφερομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἑξκαοσίαις ναυσίν, ὡς δ' Ἔφορος, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις. ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν θάλατταν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν*
6 *ἐπράχθη τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἐξέπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένον, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεῶν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πάμπολλαί τινες αἱ πεπληρωμέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆες ἦσαν, ὅτε πολλῶν μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκφυγουσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεισῶν, ὅμως αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.*

XIII. *Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τὸ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμῆσι καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅμως δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατεῖν ὁρῶν ἐπηρμένους καὶ προθύμους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαζε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔτι θερμοὺς τῷ κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγῶνι μετὰ*
2 *κραυγῆς καὶ δρόμου προσφερομένους. ὑποστάντων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς κρατερὰ μάχη συνέστη· καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἔπεσον. πολλῷ δ' ἀγῶνι τρεψάμενοι*

Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Cimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decline an engagement. At first the enemy put into the river, that they might not be forced to fight; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus; three hundred and fifty, according to Ephorus. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the Barbarian ships which went into action were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians

τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔκτεινον, εἶτα ᾕρουν αὐτούς τε καὶ σκηνὰς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσας.

3 Κίμων δ' ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς δεινὸς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δύο καθῃρηκὼς ἀγωνίσματα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πεζομαχίᾳ, τὸ δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ναυμαχίᾳ παρεληλυθὼς τρόπαιον, ἐπηγωνίσατο ταῖς νίκαις, καὶ τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα Φοινίσσας τριήρεις, αἳ τῆς μάχης ἀπελείφθησαν, Ὕδρῳ προσβεβληκέναι πυθόμενος διὰ τάχους ἔπλευσεν, οὐδὲν εἰδότων βέβαιον οὔπω περὶ τῆς μείζονος δυνάμεως τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ δυσπίστως ἔτι καὶ
4 μετεώρως ἐχόντων· ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες ἀπώλεσαν τὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συνδιεφθάρησαν. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὕτως ἐταπείνωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε συνθέσθαι τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην ἐκείνην, 48
ἵππου μὲν δρόμον ἀεὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπέχειν θαλάσσης, ἔνδον δὲ Κυανέων καὶ Χελιδονίων μακρᾷ νηὶ καὶ χαλκεμβόλῳ μὴ πλέειν.

5 Καίτοι Καλλισθένης οὔ φησι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔργῳ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς ἥττης ἐκείνης, καὶ μακρὰν οὕτως ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ Περικλέα καὶ τριάκοντα μόναις Ἐφιάλτην ἐπέκεινα πλεῦσαι Χελιδονίων καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ναυτικὸν ἀπαντῆσαι
6 παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ἃ συνήγαγε Κρατερός, ἀντίγραφα συνθηκῶν ὡς γενομένων κατατέτακται. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν

routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then captured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Plataea with a naval battle, still went on competing with his own victories. Hearing that the eighty Phoenician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hydrus,[1] he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armoured ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians

[1] Hydrus is the name in the MSS., but no such place is known. Syedra is the most probable correction.

εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῆσι διαφερόντως.

Πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων εἴς τε τὰ ἄλλα χρήμασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐρρώσθη, καὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τεῖχος κατεσκεύασεν ἀπ'
7 ἐκείνης εὐπορήσας τῆς στρατείας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ἃ σκέλη καλοῦσι, συντελεσθῆναι μὲν ὕστερον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην θεμελίωσιν εἰς τόπους ἑλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος ἀσφαλῶς, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἑλῶν πιεσθέντων, ἐκείνου χρήματα πορίζοντος καὶ
8 διδόντος. πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς, αἳ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπερφυῶς ἠγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ' Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἠσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τινες οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἄνωθεν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καταφρονοῦντες τοῦ Κίμωνος μετ' ὀλίγων παντάπασι τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν ἐκπεπλευκότος, ὁρμήσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέσσαρσι μὲν ναυσὶ τρισκαίδεκα τὰς ἐκείνων ἔλαβεν, ἐξελάσας δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ κρατήσας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν πᾶσαν ᾠκειώσατο τῇ πόλει τὴν Χερρόνησον.
2 ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θασίους μὲν ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναίων καταναυμαχήσας τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα τὰ

also built the altar of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honours to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones into the swamps, meeting the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told.[1] But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement. And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens,[2] he defeated them in a sea-fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines

[1] 466 B.C. [2] 465 B.C.

πέραν Ἀθηναίοις προσεκτήσατο καὶ χώραν, ἧς ἐπῆρχον Θάσιοι, παρέλαβεν.

Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν, ὡς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπεῖσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἔφυγε τῶν
3 ἐχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς οὐκ Ἰώνων ἔφη προξενεῖν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλῶν, πλουσίων ὄντων, ὥσπερ ἑτέρους, ἵνα θεραπεύωνται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, μιμούμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἧς οὐδένα προτιμᾶν πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πλουτίζων ἀπὸ τῶν πο-
4 λεμίων τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι. μνησθεὶς δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκείνης ὁ Στησίμβροτός φησι τὴν Ἐλπινίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κίμωνος δεομένην ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ σφοδρότατος), τὸν δὲ μειδιάσαντα "Γραῦς εἶ," φάναι, "γραῦς, ὦ Ἐλπινίκη, ὡς τηλικαῦτα διαπράττεσθαι πράγματα·" πλὴν ἔν γε τῇ δίκῃ πρᾳότατον γενέσθαι τῷ Κίμωνι καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἅπαξ ἀναστῆναι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενον.

XV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ πολιτείᾳ παρὼν μὲν ἐκράτει καὶ συνέστελλε τὸν δῆμον ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ περισπῶντα τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν· ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐξέπλευσε, τελέως ἀνεθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συγχέαντες τὸν καθεστῶ- 48
τα τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον τά τε πάτρια νόμιμα, οἷς

on the opposite mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him.[1] In making his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedaemonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial Stesimbrotus says that Elpinicé came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, "Too old, too old, Elpinicé, to meddle with such business." But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service,[2] the populace got completely beyond control. They confounded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly

[1] 463 B.C. [2] 462 B.C. See chap. xvii

2 ἐχρῶντο πρότερον, Ἐφιάλτου προεστῶτος ἀφείλοντο τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς τὰς κρίσεις πλὴν ὀλίγων ἁπάσας, καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων κυρίους ἑαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες εἰς ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν ἐνέβαλον τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη καὶ Περικλέους δυναμένου καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν φρονοῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν, ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ πειρωμένου πάλιν ἄνω τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρατίαν, κατεβόων συνιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν
3 δῆμον ἐξηρέθιζον, ἐκεῖνά τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνανεούμενοι καὶ Λακωνισμὸν ἐπικαλοῦντες. εἰς ἃ καὶ τὰ Εὐπόλιδος διατεθρύληται περὶ Κίμωνος, ὅτι

> Κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κἀμελής·
> κἀνίοτ' ἂν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ' ἂν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,
> κἂν Ἐλπινίκην τήνδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

εἰ δ' ἀμελῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος τοσαύτας πόλεις εἷλε καὶ τοσαύτας νίκας ἐνίκησε, δῆλον ὅτι νήφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέχοντος οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε τῶν πρότερον οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον Ἑλλήνων παρῆλθε τὰς πράξεις.

XVI. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φιλολάκων· καὶ τῶν γε παίδων τῶν διδύμων τὸν ἕτερον Λακεδαιμόνιον ὠνόμασε, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἠλεῖον, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Κλειτορίας γενομένους, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ἱστορεῖ· διὸ πολλάκις τὸν Περικλέα τὸ μητρῷον αὐτοῖς γένος ὀνειδίζειν. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Περιηγητὴς καὶ τούτους φησὶ καὶ τὸν τρίτον τῶν Κίμωνος

observed, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made themselves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home, and in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its jurisdiction and to revive the aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renewing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathiser. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference :—

"He was not base, but fond of wine and full of sloth,
And oft he 'ld sleep in Lacedaemon, far from home,
And leave his Elpinicé sleeping all alone."

But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.

XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the first a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleius,—the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well

υἱῶν Θεσσαλὸν ἐξ Ἰσοδίκης γεγονέναι τῆς
2 Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ηὐξήθη δ' ὑπὸ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπο-
λεμούντων καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις
μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων. οἱ
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἡδέως ἑώρων οὐ μικρὰ τῆς
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολαύον-
τες· αὐξανομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ
συμμαχικὰ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐκ ἤχθοντο τιμῇ
3 καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Κίμωνος. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα δι'
ἐκείνου τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διεπράττετο, πρᾴως μὲν
τοῖς συμμάχοις, κεχαρισμένως δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις ὁμιλοῦντος. ἔπειτα δυνατώτεροι γενό-
μενοι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐκ
ἠρέμα προσκείμενον ὁρῶντες ἤχθοντο. καὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐπὶ παντὶ μεγαλύνων τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε τύχοι μεμφό-
μενος αὐτοῖς ἢ παροξύνων, ὥς φησι Στησίμβροτος,
εἰώθει λέγειν· "Ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοί γε
4 τοιοῦτοι." ὅθεν φθόνον ἑαυτῷ συνῆγε καὶ
δυσμένειάν τινα παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

Ἡ δ' οὖν ἰσχύσασα μάλιστα κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
διαβολῶν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοιαύτην. Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ
Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον[1] ἔτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλεύον-
τος ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μεγίστου δὴ τῶν μνημονευομένων
πρότερον ἥ τε χώρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χάσμα-
σιν ἐνώλισθε πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ταϋγέτων τιναχ-
θέντων κορυφαί τινες ἀπερράγησαν, αὐτὴ δ' ἡ
πόλις ὅλη συνεχύθη πλὴν οἰκιῶν πέντε, τὰς δ'
ἄλλας ἤρειψεν ὁ σεισμός.

[1] τέταρτον Bekker adopted Niebuhr's correction to τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον *fourteenth.*

as the third of Cimon's sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. And he was looked upon with favour by the Lacedaemonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was first growing, and they were busy making alliances, they were not displeased that honour and favour should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic statesman, dealing gently with the allies and acceptably with the Lacedaemonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedaemon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, "But the Lacedaemonians are not of such a sort." In this way he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta,[1] a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedaemonians into many chasms, shook Taÿgetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the earthquake.

[1] 464 B.C.

5 Ἐν δὲ μέσῃ τῇ στοᾷ γυμναζομένων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων λέγεται μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ λαγὼν παραφανῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, ὥσπερ ἦσαν ἀληλιμμένοι, μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ διώκειν, τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις ὑπολειφθεῖσιν ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ τελευτῆσαι. τὸν δὲ τάφον αὐτῶν ἔτι νῦν Σεισματίαν προσαγορεύουσι.

6 Ταχὺ δὴ συνιδὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας 48
ὁρῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὰ τιμιώτατα πειρωμένους σώζειν, ἐκέλευσε τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν, ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀθροίζωνται πρὸς αὐτόν. ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνον ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ τὴν Σπάρτην διέσωσεν. οἱ γὰρ εἵλωτες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέδραμον πανταχόθεν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους
7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὡπλισμένους δὲ καὶ συντεταγμένους εὑρόντες ἀνεχώρησάν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φανερῶς ἐπολέμουν, τῶν τε περιοίκων ἀναπείσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἅμα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις συνεπιθεμένων.

Πέμπουσιν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Περικλείδαν εἰς Ἀθήνας δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν, ὅν φησι κωμῳδῶν Ἀριστοφάνης καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ὠχρὸν
8 ἐν φοινικίδι στρατιὰν ἐπαιτεῖν. Ἐφιάλτου δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδ' ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν κεῖσθαι καὶ πατηθῆναι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης, Κίμωνά φησι Κριτίας τὴν τῆς πατρίδος αὔξησιν ἐν ὑστέρῳ θέμενον τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων

It is said that while the young men and youths were exercising together in the interior of the colonnade, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gymnasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call *Seismatias*.

Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy's attack, in order that they might flock to him at once under arms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Perioeci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as "sitting at the altars, pale of face, in purple cloak, soliciting an army."[1] But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succour nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says, Cimon made his country's increase of less account than Sparta's interest, and persuaded the

[1] *Lysistrata*, 1137 ff.

συμφέροντος ἀναπείσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐξελθεῖν βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῶν ὁπλιτῶν. ὁ δ' Ἴων ἀπομνημονεύει καὶ τὸν λόγον, ᾧ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μήτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα χωλὴν μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόζυγα περιϊδεῖν γεγενημένην.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπῄει διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων, ἐνεκάλει Λάχαρτος αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις εἰσαγαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κόψαντας ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον ἢ τὸν κύριον κελεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Κίμων "Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Λάχαρτε, τὰς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων πύλας κόψαντες, ἀλλὰ κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιάσασθε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀξιοῦντες ἀνεῳγέναι πάντα τοῖς μεῖζον δυναμένοις." οὕτω μὲν ἐθρασύνατο πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐν δέοντι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς διεξῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὖθις ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ Μεσσηνίους καὶ εἵλωτας, ἐλθόντων δὲ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα δείσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνους τῶν συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελθόντες ἤδη τοῖς λακωνίζουσι φανερῶς ἐχαλέπαινον, καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα μικρᾶς ἐπιλαβόμενοι προφάσεως ἐξωστράκισαν εἰς ἔτη δέκα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν χρόνου τεταγμένον ἅπασι τοῖς ἐξοστρακιζομένοις.

3 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἐπανήρχοντο Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ Φωκέων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐν

people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them "not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow."

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. "People who knock at doors," said he, "do not go in before the owner bids them"; to which Cimon replied, "And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger." Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithomé, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracised him for ten years.[1] That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

It was during this period that the Lacedaemonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians,

[1] 461 B.C.

Τανάγρᾳ καταστρατοπεδευσάντων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἀπήντων διαμαχούμενοι, Κίμων δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἧκεν εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ φυλὴν τὴν Οἰνηΐδα, πρόθυμος ὢν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ
4 τῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων πυθομένη καὶ φοβηθεῖσα, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καταβοώντων ὡς συνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουλομένου καὶ τῇ πόλει Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ᾤχετο δεηθεὶς Εὐθίππου τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων, ὅσοι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζειν αἰτίαν ἔσχον, ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας.
5 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν πανοπλίαν εἰς τὸν λόχον ἔθεντο· καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων συστάντες ἐκθύμως ἑκατὸν ὄντες ἔπεσον, πολὺν αὐτῶν πόθον καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἐφ' οἷς ᾐτιάθησαν ἀδίκως ἀπολιπόντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τῷ πρὸς Κίμωνα θυμῷ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνέμειναν, τὰ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ὧν ἔπαθον εὖ μεμνημένοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ συλ-
6 λαμβανομένου. νενικημένοι γὰρ ἐν Τανάγρᾳ 49
μάχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ προσδοκῶντες εἰς ὥραν ἔτους στρατιὰν Πελοποννησίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ κατῆλθε τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος αὐτῷ Περικλέους. οὕτω τότε πολιτικαὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαφοραί, μέτριοι δ' οἱ θυμοὶ

encamped at Tanagra on their march back home.[1] Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fighting their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Oeneïd tribe, eager to share with his fellow-citizens in repelling the Lacedaemonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon's foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedaemonians in an attack upon the city; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthippus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valour to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door. They took his armour and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn of events favoured his cause. For they were defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recalled Cimon from his exile. The decree which provided for his return was formally proposed by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on political differences of opinion, while personal feelings were

[1] 457 B.C.

καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐανάκλητοι συμφέρον, ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία πάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα τῶν παθῶν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεχώρει καιροῖς.

XVIII. Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις· γενομένης δ' εἰρήνης ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ αὐξάνεσθαι ταῖς στρατείαις βουλομένους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διοχλῶσι μηδὲ περὶ τὰς νήσους ἢ Πελοπόννησον ἀναστρεφόμενοι ναυσὶ πολλαῖς αἰτίας ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ συμμαχικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀρχὰς ἐπισπάσωνται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως,
2 ἐπλήρου διακοσίας τριήρεις ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον αὖθις ἐκστρατευσόμενος, ἅμα μὲν ἐμμελετᾶν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγῶσι βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δ' ὠφελεῖσθαι δικαίως τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πολεμίων εὐπορίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντας.

Ἤδη δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἁπάντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντος ὄναρ εἶδεν ὁ
3 Κίμων. ἐδόκει κύνα θυμουμένην ὑλακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑκλαῆς μεμιγμένον ἀφεῖσαν ἀνθρώπου φθόγγον εἰπεῖν·

Στεῖχε· φίλος γὰρ ἔσῃ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐμοῖς σκυλάκεσσιν.

οὕτω δὲ δυσκρίτου τῆς ὄψεως οὔσης Ἀστύφιλος ὁ Ποσειδωνιάτης, μαντικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ συνήθης τῷ Κίμωνι, φράζει θάνατον αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω διαιρῶν· κύων ἀνθρώπῳ, πρὸς ὃν ὑλακτεῖ, πολέμιος· πολεμίῳ δ' οὐκ ἄν τις μᾶλλον

moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country's welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made,[1] since he saw that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and to wax great by means of military expeditions; also because he wished that they should not exasperate the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet bring down upon the city charges of intestine war, and initial complaints from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking, when Cimon had a dream. He thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it uttered a human voice, saying:—

"Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me
and my puppies."

The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus of Posidonia, an inspired man and an intimate of Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He analysed the vision thus: a dog is a foe of the man at whom it bays; to a foe, one cannot be a friend

[1] 450 B.C.

ἢ τελευτήσας φίλος γένοιτο· τὸ δὲ μῖγμα τῆς φωνῆς Μῆδον ἀποδηλοῖ τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὁ γὰρ
4 Μήδων στρατὸς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάροις μέμικται. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ θύσαντος ὁ μὲν μάντις ἀπέτεμε τὸ ἱερεῖον, τοῦ δ' αἵματος τὸ πηγνύμενον ἤδη μύρμηκες πολλοὶ λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔφερον πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς περὶ τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον περιέπλαττον, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνοντες. ἅμα δέ πως ὅ τε Κίμων τῷ γινομένῳ προσέσχε καὶ παρῆν ὁ θύτης ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὸν λοβὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα κεφαλήν.

Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάδυσις τῆς στρατείας ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις πάλιν . . . ἔπλει.[1]
5 καὶ καταναυμαχήσας Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ Κιλισσῶν βασιλικὸν στόλον ἀνεκτᾶτό τε τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ πόλεις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐφήδρευεν, οὐδὲν μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὅλης ἐπινοῶν τῆς βασιλέως ἡγεμονίας κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐπυνθάνετο δόξαν εἶναι καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην, ὑποδεδεγμένου βασιλεῖ κινοῦντι τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγήσειν.
6 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογνούς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὑπερβαλόμενος τὴν Κίμωνος εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετήν, ἑκὼν τελευτῆσαι, Κίμων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαιρόμενος ἀρχὰς ἀγώνων καὶ περὶ Κύπρον συνέχων τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἄνδρας ἀπόρρητόν τινα μαντείαν ποιησομένους παρὰ τῷ θεῷ·

[1] πάλιν . . . ἔπλει either πάλιν is a corruption (περὶ Παμφυλίαν ?), or words have fallen out.

any better than by dying; the mixture of speech indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Barbarians. After this vision, when Cimon had sacrificed to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim, swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed, brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their work for some time. Just about at the time when he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant came and showed him the liver of his victim without a head.

But since he could not get out of the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phoenician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion,—nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King's entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles' despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valour of Cimon, that he took his own life.[1]

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some secret question.

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, xxxi. 4.

7 γινώσκει γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν, οὐδὲ χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι τοὺς θεοπρόπους· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἤδη τὸν Κίμωνα παρ' ἑαυτῷ τυγχάνειν ὄντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ θεοπρόποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τότε περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἦν, ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον ἀνάγοντες ἔγνωσαν ᾐνιγμένην τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἤδη παρὰ θεοῖς ὄντος.

XIX. Ἀπέθανε δὲ πολιορκῶν Κίτιον, ὡς οἱ 49
πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, νοσήσας· ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐκ τραύματος, ὃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔσχε. τελευτῶν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀποπλεῖν ἀποκρυψαμένους τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέβη μήτε τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αἰσθομένων ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀνακομισθῆναι στρατηγουμένους ὑπὸ Κίμωνος, ὥς φησι Φανόδημος, τεθνηκότος ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐπράχθη στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ τραπέντες ὑπὸ δημαγωγῶν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἐν μέσῳ διασχόντος, συνερράγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀναπνοὴ μὲν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι γενόμενοι, φθόρον δ' ἀμύθητον
3 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεργασάμενοι. ὀψὲ δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξενεγκάμενοι τὰ ὅπλα βραχέος ἥψαντο πολέμου πρὸς

No one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea-coast, and when they reached the camp of the Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say.[1] But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon," as Phanodemus says, "who had been dead for thirty days."

After his death no further brilliant exploit against the Barbarians was performed by any general of the Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed together in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable destruction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards[2] that Agesilaüs carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's

[1] Thuc. i. 112. [2] 396–394 B.C.

τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ βασιλέως στρατηγούς· καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μέγα δράσαντες, αὖθις δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς στάσεσι καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ὑπενεχθέντες, ᾤχοντο τοὺς Περσῶν φορολόγους ἐν μέσαις ταῖς συμμάχοις καὶ φίλαις πόλεσιν ἀπολιπόντες, ὧν οὐδὲ γραμματοφόρος κατέβαινεν οὐδ' ἵππος πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τετρακοσίων σταδίων ἐντὸς ὤφθη στρατηγοῦντος Κίμωνος.

4 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπεκομίσθη τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ, μαρτυρεῖ τῶν μνημάτων τὰ μέχρι νῦν Κιμώνεια προσαγορευόμενα· τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Κιτιεῖς τάφον τινὰ Κίμωνος, ὡς Ναυσικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ φησίν, ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀμελεῖν Κίμωνος, ἀλλ' ὡς κρείττονα σέβεσθαι καὶ γεραίρειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ἡγεμών.

generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was overwhelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the tax-gatherers of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horse, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general.

That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honours to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicrates the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honour him as a superior being. Such was the Greek leader.

LUCULLUS

ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΣ

1. Τῷ δὲ Λουκούλλῳ πάππος μὲν ἦν ὑπατικός, θεῖος δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς Μέτελλος ὁ Νομαδικὸς ἐπικληθείς. τῶν δὲ γονέων ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἑάλω κλοπῆς, Κεκιλία δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἠδόξησεν ὡς οὐ βεβιωκυῖα σωφρόνως. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν, πρὶν ἀρχήν τινα μετελθεῖν καὶ πολιτείας ἅψασθαι, πρῶτον ἔργον ἐποιήσατο τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς κατήγορον κρῖναι Σερουίλιον
2 αὔγουρα, λαβὼν ἀδικοῦντα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ὥσπερ ἀριστείαν διὰ στόματος ἔσχον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἄνευ προφάσεως οὐκ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι τὸ τῆς κατηγορίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοὺς νέους ἐβούλοντο τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιφυομένους ὁρᾶν ὥσπερ θηρίοις εὐγενεῖς σκύλακας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μεγάλης περὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην φιλονεικίας γενομένης, ὥστε καὶ τρωθῆναί τινας καὶ πεσεῖν, ἀπέφυγεν ὁ Σερουίλιος.
3 Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἑκατέραν γλῶτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὑτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησεν ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσοντι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν μόνην ἐμμελὴς αὐτοῦ

LUCULLUS

I. In the case of Lucullus, his grandfather was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on his mother's side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. But as for his parents, his father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Caecilia, had the bad name of a dissolute woman. Lucullus himself, while he was still a mere youth, before he had entered public life or stood for any office, made it his first business to impeach his father's accuser, Servilius the Augur, whom he found wronging the commonwealth. The Romans thought this a brilliant stroke, and the case was in everybody's mouth, like a great deed of prowess. Indeed, they thought the business of impeachment, on general principles and without special provocation, no ignoble thing, but were very desirous to see their young men fastening themselves on malefactors like high-bred whelps on wild beasts. However, the case stirred up great animosity, so that sundry persons were actually wounded and slain, and Servilius was acquitted.

Lucullus was trained to speak fluently both Latin and Greek, so that Sulla, in writing his own memoirs, dedicated them to him, as a man who would set in order and duly arrange the history of the times better than himself. For the style of Lucullus was not only businesslike and ready; the same

καὶ πρόχειρος ὁ λόγος, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν

Θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὣς διεστρόβει,

γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκτὸς αὖος, ἀμουσίᾳ
4 τεθνηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμμελῆ ταύτην καὶ 49
λεγομένην ἐλευθέριον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ προσεποιεῖτο παιδείαν ἔτι καὶ μειράκιον ὤν. γενόμενος δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἤδη παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀφῆκε τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς ἐγείρας, καταλύσας δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κολούσας τὸ
5 φιλότιμον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πομπήϊον διαφορᾶς. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλολογίας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται· νέον ὄντα πρὸς Ὀρτήσιον τὸν δικολόγον καὶ Σισεννᾶν τὸν ἱστορικὸν ἐκ παιδιᾶς τινος εἰς σπουδὴν προελθούσης ὁμολογῆσαι, προθεμένων ποίημα καὶ λόγον Ἑλληνικόν τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκόν, εἰς ὅ τι ἂν λάχῃ τούτων, τὸν Μαρσικὸν ἐντενεῖν πόλεμον. καί πως ἔοικεν εἰς λόγον Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ κλῆρος ἀφικέσθαι· διασώζεται γὰρ Ἑλληνική τις ἱστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου.

6 Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον εὐνοίας πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ὄντων μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πρώτου μνημονεύουσι. πρεσβύτερος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν μόνος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ἀναμείνας οὕτως ἐπηγάγετο

was true of many another man's in the Forum. There,

> "Like smitten tunny, through the billowy sea it dashed,"

although outside of the Forum it was

> "Withered, inelegant, and dead."

But Lucullus, from his youth up, was devoted to the genial and so-called "liberal" culture then in vogue, wherein the Beautiful was sought. And when he came to be well on in years, he suffered his mind to find complete leisure and repose, as it were after many struggles, in philosophy, encouraging the contemplative side of his nature, and giving timely halt and check, after his difference with Pompey, to the play of his ambition. Now, as to his love of literature, this also is reported, in addition to what has already been said: when he was a young man, proceeding from jest to earnest in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and Sisenna, the historian, he agreed, on their suggestion of a poem and a history, both in Greek and Latin, that he would treat the Marsic war in whichever of these forms the lot should prescribe. And it would seem that the lot prescribed a Greek history, for there is extant a Greek history of the Marsic war.

Of his affection for his brother Marcus there are many proofs, but the Romans dwell most upon the first. Although, namely, he was older than his brother, he was unwilling to hold office alone, but waited until his brother was of the proper age, and thus gained the favour of the people

τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ μὴ παρὼν ἀγορανόμος αἱρεθῆναι.

II. Νέος δ' ὢν ἐν τῷ Μαρσικῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰ μὲν τόλμης δείγματα παρέσχε καὶ συνέσεως, μᾶλλόν γε μὴν αὐτὸν δι' εὐστάθειαν καὶ πραότητα Σύλλας προσηγάγετο, καὶ χρώμενος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς διετέλεσεν· ὧν ἦν
2 καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία. δι' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκόπη τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ περὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ Λουκούλλειον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγορεύθη, καὶ διετέλεσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρειῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ λαμβάνον ἀμοιβὴν ταχεῖαν. ἐκ τούτου τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐπικρατῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, περικοπτόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυκρατούντων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξοντα
3 ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀκμὴ χειμῶνος, ἐξέπλευσε δὲ τρισὶν Ἑλληνικοῖς μυοπάρωσι καὶ δικρότοις ἴσαις Ῥοδιακαῖς πρὸς μέγα πέλαγος καὶ ναῦς πολεμίας, πανταχόσε τῷ κρατεῖν πολλὰς διαφερομένας, παραβαλλόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρήτην κατάρας ᾠκειώσατο καὶ Κυρηναίους καταλαβὼν ἐκ τυραννίδων συνεχῶν καὶ πολέμων ταραττομένους ἀνέλαβε, καὶ κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν Πλατωνικῆς τινος φωνῆς ἀναμνήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀπεθέσπισε πρὸς αὐτούς.
4 δεομένων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅπως τε νόμους γράψῃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν εἰς τύπον τινὰ καταστήσῃ πολιτείας σώφρονος, ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι Κυρηναίοις

to such an extent that, although in absence from the city, he was elected aedile along with his brother.

II. Though he was but a young man in the Marsic war,[1] he gave many proofs of courage and understanding. It was, however, more owing to his constancy and mildness that Sulla attached him to himself and employed him from first to last on business of the highest importance. Such, for instance, was the management of the mint. Most of the money used in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war was coined by him, and was called Lucullean after him. It remained current for a long time, since the wants of the soldiery during the war gave it rapid circulation. Afterwards, at Athens, Sulla found himself master on land, but cut off from supplies by sea, owing to the superior naval force of the enemy. He therefore despatched Lucullus to Egypt and Libya,[2] with orders to fetch ships from there. Winter was then at its worst, but he sailed forth with three Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, exposing himself not only to the high sea, but to numerous hostile ships which were cruising about everywhere in full mastery of it. However, he put in at Crete and won it over to his side. He also made Cyrené, and finding it in confusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and wars, he restored it to order, and fixed its constitution, reminding the city of a certain oracular utterance which the great Plato had once vouchsafed to them. They asked him, it would seem, to write laws for them, and to mould their people into some form of sound government, whereupon he said that it was hard to be a lawgiver for the Cyrenaeans when they

[1] 90–89 B.C. [2] 87–86 B.C.

οὕτως εὐτυχοῦσι νομοθετεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δυσαρκτότερον εὖ πράσσειν δοκοῦντος, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν δεκτικώτερον ἐπιστασίας συσταλέντος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὃ καὶ τότε Κυρηναίους νομοθετοῦντι Λουκούλλῳ πρᾴους παρέσχεν.

5 Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀναχθεὶς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπέβαλε πειρατῶν ἐπιφανέντων, αὐτὸς δὲ διασωθεὶς κατήγετο λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀπήντησε γὰρ αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ στόλος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει βασιλεῖ καταπλέοντι, κεκοσμημένος ἐκπρεπῶς· καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἄλλην τε θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείκνυτο φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς αὐτόν, οἴκησίν τε καὶ δίαιταν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔδωκεν, οὐδενός πω ξένου πρότερον ἡγεμόνος
6 αὐτόθι καταχθέντος. δαπάνην δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν οὐχ ὅσην ἐδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τετραπλῆν ἐκείνῳ παρεῖχεν, οὐ προσιεμένῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλέον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δῶρον λαβόντι, καίπερ ὀγδοήκοντα ταλάντων ἄξια πέμψαντος αὐτῷ. λέγεται 49
δὲ μήτ' εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναβῆναι μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν θαυμαζομένων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περιβοήτων ἱστορῆσαι· σχολάζοντος γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα θεατοῦ καὶ τρυφῶντος, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτός, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σκηνοῦντα παρὰ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολελοιπότος.

III. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέλιπε τὴν συμμαχίαν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειλιάσας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ναῦς ἄχρι Κύπρου πομποὺς παρέσχε, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν αὐτὸν ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ θεραπεύων ἐδωρεῖτο χρυσένδετον σμάραγδον τῶν πολυτελῶν,

were having such good-fortune. In fact, nothing is more ungovernable than a man reputed to be prosperous; and, on the other hand, nothing is more receptive of authority than a man who is humbled by misfortune. This was what made the Cyrenaeans at that time so submissive to Lucullus as their lawgiver.

From thence he set sail for Egypt, but was attacked by pirates, and lost most of his vessels. He himself, however, escaped in safety, and entered the port of Alexandria in splendid style. The entire Egyptian fleet came to meet him, as it was wont to do when a king put into port, in resplendent array, and the youthful Ptolemy, besides showing him other astonishing marks of kindness, gave him lodging and sustenance in the royal palace, whither no foreign commander had ever been brought before. The allowance which the king made for his expenses was not the same as others had received, but four times as much, and yet he accepted nothing beyond what was actually necessary, and took no gift, although he was offered the worth of eighty talents. It is also said that he neither went up to Memphis, nor sought out any other of the famous wonders of Egypt; this he held to be the privilege of a leisurely and luxurious sight-seer, not of one who, like himself, had left his commander-in-chief encamped under the open sky alongside the battlements of the enemy.

III. Ptolemy abandoned his alliance with Rome, out of fear for the outcome of the war, but furnished Lucullus with ships to convoy him as far as Cyprus, embraced him graciously at parting, and offered him a costly emerald set in gold. At first Lucullus

τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Λούκουλλος παρῃτεῖτο, δείξαντος δὲ τὴν γλυφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὖσαν ἰδίαν ἐφοβήθη διώσασθαι, μὴ παντάπασιν ἐχθρὸς ἀποπλεῖν νομισθεὶς ἐπιβουλευθείη κατὰ
2 θάλατταν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλῆθος ἐν παράπλῳ νεῶν ἐκ τῶν παραλίων πόλεων ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ὅσοι πειρατικῶν μετεῖχον ἀδικημάτων, εἰς τὴν Κύπρον διεπέρασεν, ἐνταῦθα πυνθανόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ναυλοχοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄκραῖς παραφυλάττειν αὐτόν, ἐνεώλκησε τὰ σκάφη πάντα, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔγραψε περὶ χειμαδίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς, ὡς
3 αὐτόθι τὴν ὥραν ἀναμενῶν. εἶτα πλοῦ φανέντος ἐξαπίνης κατασπάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀνήχθη, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφειμένοις πλέων τοῖς ἱστίοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς, νύκτωρ δ' ἐπαιρομένοις εἰς Ῥόδον ἐσώθη. Ῥοδίων δὲ ναῦς αὐτῷ προσπαρασχόντων Κῴους ἔπεισε καὶ Κνιδίους τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπαλλαγέντας ἐπὶ Σαμίους συστρατεύειν. ἐκ δὲ Χίου τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αὐτὸς ἐξήλασε, Κολοφωνίους δ' ἠλευθέρωσε συλλαβὼν Ἐπίγονον τὸν τύραννον αὐτῶν.

4 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἤδη Μιθριδάτης τὸ Πέργαμον ἐκλελοιπὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος εἰς Πιτάνην. ἐκεῖ δὲ Φιμβρίου κατέχοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀφορῶν συνῆγε καὶ μετεπέμπετο τοὺς πανταχόθεν στόλους πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνδρὶ τολμητῇ καὶ νενικηκότι τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ
5 πολεμεῖν ἀπεγνωκώς. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα συνορῶν, ναυτικῷ δὲ λειπόμενος πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἔπεμπεν, ἥκειν τῷ στόλῳ δεόμενος καὶ συνεξελεῖν ἔχθιστον

declined to accept it, but when the king showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, he was afraid to reject it, lest he be thought to have sailed away at utter enmity with the king, and so have some plot laid against him on the voyage. As he sailed along, he collected a multitude of ships from the maritime cities, omitting all those engaged in piracy, and came at last to Cyprus. Learning there that the enemy lay at anchor off the headlands and were watching for his coming, he hauled all his vessels up on land, and wrote letters to the cities requesting winter quarters and provisions, as though he would await the fine season there. Then, when the wind served, he suddenly launched his ships and put out to sea, and by sailing in the day time with his sails reefed and low, but in the night time under full canvas, he came safely to Rhodes. The Rhodians furnished him with more ships, and he induced the people of Cos and Cnidus to forsake the royal cause and join him in an expedition against Samos. Without any aid he also drove the royal forces out of Chios,[1] and set the Colophonians free from their tyrant, Epigonus, whom he arrested.

It happened about this time that Mithridates abandoned Pergamum and shut himself up in Pitané. Since Fimbria held him in close siege there by land, he looked to make his escape by sea, and collected and summoned his fleets from every quarter for this purpose, renouncing all engagements in the field with a man so bold and victorious as Fimbria. This design Fimbria perceived, and being without any fleet of his own, sent to Lucullus, beseeching him to come with his, and assist in capturing the

[1] 85 B.C.

καὶ πολεμιώτατον βασιλέων, ὡς μὴ τὸ μέγα καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων διωκόμενον ἆθλον ἐκφύγοι Ῥωμαίους, Μιθριδάτης εἰς λαβὰς ἥκων καὶ γεγονὼς ἐντὸς ἀρκύων, οὗ ληφθέντος οὐδένα τῆς δόξης οἴσεσθαι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἐμποδὼν τῇ φυγῇ
6 στάντα καὶ διαδιδράσκοντος ἐπιλαβόμενον· ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐξεωσμένον τῆς γῆς, ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τῆς θαλάττης εἰργόμενον ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδώσειν τὸ κατόρθωμα, τὰς δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ὑμνουμένας ἀριστείας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀπὸ τρόπου τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον, ὡς, εἰ Φιμβρίᾳ τότε πεισθεὶς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὐ μακρὰν ὢν περιήγαγεν ἐκεῖσε τὰς ναῦς καὶ συνέφραξε τὸν λιμένα τῷ στόλῳ, πέρας ἂν εἶχεν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ μυρίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ἅπαντες
7 ἦσαν. ἀλλ' εἴτε τὰ πρὸς Σύλλαν δίκαια πρεσβεύων πρὸ παντὸς ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος, εἴτε τὸν Φιμβρίαν μιαρὸν ὄντα καὶ φονέα γεγενημένον ἔναγχος ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν προβαλλόμενος, εἴτε κατὰ θείαν δή τινα τύχην περιφεισάμενος αὐτὸς τοῦ[1] Μιθριδάτου καὶ φυλάξας ἀνταγωνιστήν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ Μιθριδάτῃ μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι παρέσχε καὶ
8 καταγελάσαι τῆς Φιμβρίου δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Λεκτοῦ τῆς Τρῳάδος βασιλικὰς ναῦς ἐπιφανείσας κατεναυμάχησεν, αὖθις δὲ πρὸς Τενέδῳ ναυλοχοῦντα μείζονι παρασκευῇ κατιδὼν

[1] αὐτὸς τοῦ Reiske, Coraës, Bekker : αὐτοῦ.

most hostile and warlike of kings, that the great prize which they had sought with so many toils and struggles might not escape the Romans, now that Mithridates was in their grip and fast in the meshes of their net. If he should be captured, Fimbria said, no one would get more of the glory than the man who stood in the way of his flight and seized him as he was running off. "Driven from the land by me, and excluded from the sea by you, he will crown us both with success, and the much heralded exploits of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia will cease to interest the Romans." And there was nothing absurd in the proposition. It is clear to everyone that if Lucullus, who was close at hand, had then listened to Fimbria, brought his ships thither, and closed up the harbour with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and the world freed from infinite mischief. But, whether he ranked the honourable treatment of Sulla above every consideration of private or public advantage, or whether he regarded Fimbria as a wretch whose ambition for command had recently led him to murder a man who was his friend and superior officer, or whether it was by some mysterious dispensation of fortune that he chose to spare Mithridates, and so reserved him for his own antagonist,—for whatever reason, he would not listen to the proposal, but suffered Mithridates to sail off and mock at Fimbria's forces, while he himself, to begin with, defeated the king's ships which showed themselves off Lectum in the Troad. And again, catching sight of Neoptolemus lying in wait for him at Tenedos with a still larger armament,

Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπέπλει πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Ῥοδιακῆς πεντήρους ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἧς ἐναυάρχει Δαμαγόρας, ἀνὴρ εὔνους τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ θαλασσίων ἀγώνων
9 ἐμπειρότατος. ἐπελαύνοντος δὲ ῥοθίῳ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς ἐμβολὴν ἀγαγεῖν 49
τὸν κυβερνήτην, δείσας· ὁ Δαμαγόρας τὸ βάρος τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τοῦ χαλκώματος οὐκ ἐτόλμησε συμπεσεῖν ἀντίπρῳρος, ἀλλ' ὀξέως ἐκ περιαγωγῆς ἀποστρέψας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὤσασθαι· καὶ πιεσθείσης ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεὼς ἐδέξατο τὴν πληγὴν ἀβλαβῆ γενομένην, ἅτε δὴ τοῖς θαλαττεύουσι τῆς νεὼς μέρεσι προσπε-
10 σοῦσαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φίλων προσφερομένων, ἐγκελευσάμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καταδιώκει τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον.

IV. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Σύλλᾳ περὶ Χερρόνησον ἤδη μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν συμβαλὼν τόν τε πόρον ἀσφαλῆ παρεῖχε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν συνδιεβίβαζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνθηκῶν γενομένων Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον, Σύλλας δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ τά τε χρήματα ταῦτα πρᾶξαι καὶ νόμισμα κόψαι, παραμύθιόν τι δοκεῖ τῆς Σύλλα χαλεπότητος γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ μόνον καθαρὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρᾶον εἰς οὕτω βαρὺ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ὑπηρέτημα παρασχὼν ἑαυτόν.
2 Μιτυληναίους δ' ἄντικρυς ἀφεστῶτας ἐβούλετο μὲν εὐγνωμονῆσαι καὶ δίκης τυχεῖν μετρίας ἐφ' οἷς περὶ Μάριον[1] ἐξήμαρτον, ὡς δ' ἑώρα κακοδαιμο-

[1] Μάριον with Sintenis[1] and Coraës : Μάνιον.

he sailed out against him in advance of the rest, on board of a Rhodian galley which was commanded by Damagoras, a man well disposed to the Romans, and of the largest experience as a sea-fighter. Neoptolemus dashed out to meet him, and ordered his steersman to ram the enemy. Damagoras, however, fearing the weight of the royal ship and her rugged bronze armour, did not venture to engage head on, but put swiftly about and ordered his men to back water, thus receiving his enemy astern, where his vessel was depressed. The blow was harmless, since it fell upon the submerged parts of the ship. At this point, his friends coming up, Lucullus gave orders to turn the ship about, and, after performing many praiseworthy feats, put the enemy to flight and gave close chase to Neoptolemus.

IV. From thence he joined Sulla at the Chersonesus, where he was about to cross the strait into Asia;[1] he rendered his passage safe, and assisted in transporting his troops. After peace had been made, Mithridates sailed away into the Euxine, and Sulla laid a contribution of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. Lucullus was commissioned to collect this money and re-coin it, and the cities of Asia felt it to be no slight assuagement of Sulla's severity when Lucullus showed himself not only honest and just, but even mild in the performance of a task so oppressive and disagreeable. The Mitylenaeans too, who had revolted outright, he wished to be reasonable, and to submit to a moderate penalty for having espoused the cause of Marius. But when he saw that they were possessed by an

[1] 84 B.C.

νοῦντας, ἐπιπλεύσας ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὰ τείχη, καὶ πολιορκίαν συστησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ φανερῶς εἰς Ἐλαίαν, ὑπέστρεψε δὲ λεληθότως καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν
3 ὑφεὶς ἐνέδραν ἡσύχαζεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ θράσους ὡς ἔρημον ἁρπασόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι προῆλθον, ἐπεισπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβέ τε παμπόλλους ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἀμυνομένων πεντακοσίους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀνδραπόδων δὲ χιλιάδας ἓξ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναρίθμητον ἠλάσατο λείαν.

4 Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κακῶν, ἃ τότε Σύλλας καὶ Μάριος ἄφθονα καὶ παντοδαπὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρεῖχον, οὐ πάνυ μετέσχε θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ περὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πράξεις βραδύνας. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττόν τι παρὰ Σύλλα τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τήν τε γραφήν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνῳ δι' εὔνοιαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ παιδὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπερβὰς Πομπήϊον. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξαι διαφορᾶς αἴτιον καὶ ζηλοτυπίας νέοις οὖσι καὶ διαπύροις πρὸς δόξαν.

V. Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἢ Σύλλαν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάτευσε μετὰ Μάρκου Κόττα περὶ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδα. πολλῶν οὖν αὖθις ἀνακινούντων τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἔφη Μάρκος αὐτὸν οὐ πεπαῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναπεπαῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ λαχὼν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἤχθετο, πράξεων ὑποθέσεις μεγάλων οὐκ ἔχουσαν.

evil spirit, he sailed against them, conquered them in battle, and shut them up within their walls. After instituting a siege of their city, he sailed away in open day to Elaea, but returned by stealth, and lay quietly in ambush near the city. When the Mitylenaeans sallied forth in disorder and with the confident expectation of plundering his deserted camp, he fell upon them, took a great number of them alive, and slew five hundred of those who offered resistance. He also carried off six thousand slaves, besides countless other booty.

But in the boundless and manifold evils which Sulla and Marius were bringing upon the people of Italy at that time, he had no share whatever, for, as some kindly fortune would have it, he was detained at his business in Asia.[1] However, Sulla accorded no less favour to Lucullus than to his other friends. His memoirs, as I have said, Sulla dedicated to Lucullus in token of affection, and in his will appointed him guardian of his son, thereby passing Pompey by. And this seems to have been the first ground for estrangement and jealousy between these two men; both were young, and burning for distinction.

V. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was made consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad.[2] Many were now trying to stir up anew the Mithridatic war, which Marcus said had not come to an end, but merely to a pause. Therefore when the province of Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Lucullus, he was displeased, since it offered no opportunity for great exploits. But what most of all embittered him was

[1] 84–80 B.C. [2] 74 B.C.

2 μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὐδοκιμῶν Πομπήϊος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρώξυνεν, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἐπίδοξος ὤν, εἰ συμβαίη παύσασθαι τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, εὐθὺς αἱρεθήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. διὸ καὶ χρήματα αἰτοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γράφοντος, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν, ἀφεὶς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Σερτώριον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπάξοι τὰς δυνάμεις, συνέπραξεν ὁ Λούκουλλος προθυμότατα πεμφθῆναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ μηδ' ἀφ' ἡστινοσοῦν προφάσεως ἐκεῖνον
3 ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἂν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενήσεσθαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως παρόντι μετὰ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν Κέθηγος ἔχθραν τινὰ πρὸς Λούκουλλον εἶχε, βδελυττόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον 49
αἰσχρῶν ἐρώτων καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ πλημμελείας
4 μεστὸν ὄντα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς ἐπολέμει· Λεύκιον δὲ Κόϊντον, ἄλλον δημαγωγόν, ἐπαναστάντα τοῖς Σύλλα πολιτεύμασι καὶ ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα πειρώμενον ἐκ τοῦ καθεστῶτος, ἰδίᾳ τε πολλὰ παραμυθούμενος καὶ δημοσίᾳ νουθετῶν ἀπέστησε τῆς πείρας καὶ κατεστόρεσε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα πολιτικῶς καὶ σωτηρίως ἀρχὴν νοσήματος μεγάλου μεταχειρισάμενος.

VI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἔχων Ὀκταούϊος ἠγγέλθη τεθνηκώς. σπαργώντων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν καὶ Κέθηγον ὡς δυνατώτατον ὄντα διαπράξασθαι θεραπευόντων, αὐτῆς μὲν ὁ Λούκουλλος Κιλικίας οὐ πολὺν εἶχε λόγον, οἰόμενος δ', εἰ λάβοι ταύτην, ἐγγὺς οὔσης Καππαδοκίας, ἄλλον οὐδένα πεμφθήσεσθαι πολε-

the reputation which Pompey was winning in Spain. If the war in Spain should happen to come to an end, Pompey was more likely than anyone else to be at once chosen general against Mithridates. Therefore when Pompey wrote home requesting money, and declaring that if they did not send it, he would abandon Spain and Sertorius and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus moved heaven and earth to have the money sent, and to prevent Pompey from coming back, on any pretext whatsoever, while he was consul. He knew that all Rome would be in Pompey's hands if he were there with so large an army. For the man who at that time controlled the course of political affairs by virtue of doing and saying everything to court the favour of the people, Cethegus, hated Lucullus, who loathed his manner of life, full as it was of disgraceful amours and wanton trespasses. Against this man Lucullus waged open war. But Lucius Quintus, another popular leader, who opposed the institutions of Sulla and sought to confound the established order of things, he turned from his purpose by much private remonstrance and public admonition, and allayed his ambition, thus treating in as wise and wholesome a manner as was possible the beginnings of a great distemper.

VI. At this time there came tidings of the death of Octavius, the governor of Cilicia. There were many eager applicants for the province, and they paid court to Cethegus as the man best able to further their designs. Of Cilicia itself Lucullus made little account, but in the belief that, if he should get this province, which was near Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduct the war against

μήσοντα Μιθριδάτῃ, πᾶσαν ἔστρεφε μηχανὴν
2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τελευτῶν ἔργον οὐ σεμνὸν οὐδ' ἐπαινετόν, ἄλλως δ' ἀνύσιμον πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπέμεινε παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν.

Πραικία τις ἦν ὄνομα τῶν ἐφ' ὥρᾳ καὶ λαμυρίᾳ διαβοήτων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων οὐδὲν ἀνέδην ἑταιρούσης γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλεγομένοις πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων σπουδὰς καὶ πολιτείας προσλαβοῦσα τῇ λοιπῇ χάριτι τὸ δοκεῖν φιλέταιρός τις εἶναι καὶ δραστήριος
3 ἴσχυσε μέγιστον. ὡς δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνθοῦντα τῇ δόξῃ τότε καὶ φέροντα τὴν πόλιν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ συνῆν ἐρῶντι, παντάπασιν εἰς ἐκείνην περιῆλθεν ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπράττετό τι δημοσίᾳ Κεθήγου μὴ σπουδάζοντος οὐδὲ Πραικίας μὴ κελευούσης παρὰ Κεθήγῳ. ταύτην οὖν ὑπελθὼν δώροις ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ κολακείαις (ἦν δέ που καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συμφιλοτιμουμένην ὁρᾶσθαι μέγας γυναικὶ σοβαρᾷ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ μισθός), εὐθὺς εἶχε τὸν Κέθηγον ἐπαινέτην καὶ προμνώμενον αὐτῷ
4 Κιλικίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἔτυχε ταύτης, οὐδὲν ἔτι Πραικίαν οὐδὲ Κέθηγον ἔδει παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἐκείνῳ φέροντες ἐνεχείρισαν τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου μηδενὸς ἄμεινον διαπολεμηθῆναι δυνάμενον, Πομπηΐου μὲν ἔτι Σερτωρίῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, Μετέλλου δ' ἀπειρηκότος ἤδη διὰ γῆρας, οὓς μόνους ἄν τις

Mithridates, he strained every nerve to keep the province from being assigned to another. And finally, contrary to his natural bent, he was driven by the necessities of the case to adopt a course which was neither dignified nor praiseworthy, it is true, but conducive to his end.

There was a certain woman then in Rome, Praecia by name, whose fame for beauty and wit filled the city. In other respects she was no whit better than an ordinary courtesan, but she used her associates and companions to further the political ambitions of her friends, and so added to her other charms the reputation of being a true comrade, and one who could bring things to pass. She thus acquired the greatest influence. And when Cethegus also, then at the zenith of his fame and in control of the city, joined her train and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia's approval. This woman, then, Lucullus won over by gifts and flatteries, and it was doubtless a great boon for a woman so forward and ostentatious to be seen sharing the ambitions of Lucullus. Straightway he had Cethegus singing his praises and suing for Cilicia in his behalf. But as soon as he had obtained this province, there was no further need of his soliciting the aid of Praecia, or of Cethegus, for that matter, but all were unanimous and prompt in putting into his hands the Mithridatic war, assured that no one else could better bring it to a triumphant close. Pompey was still engaged in his war with Sertorius, Metellus had now retired from active service by reason of his age, and these were the only

ἐναμίλλους ἐποιήσατο Λουκούλλῳ περὶ τῆς
5 στρατηγίας ἀμφισβητοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
Κόττας ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας τὴν
σύγκλητον ἀπεστάλη μετὰ νεῶν τὴν Προποντίδα
φυλάξων καὶ προπολεμήσων Βιθυνίας.

VII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τάγμα μὲν αὐτόθεν ἔχων
συντεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν· ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παρέλαβε δύναμιν,
πάντων μὲν πάλαι τρυφαῖς διεφθορότων καὶ
πλεονεξίαις, τῶν δὲ Φιμβριανῶν λεγομένων καὶ
διὰ συνήθειαν ἀναρχίας δυσμεταχειρίστων γεγο-
2 νότων. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Φλάκκον τε μετὰ
Φιμβρίου τὸν ὕπατον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀνῃρηκότες
αὐτόν τε τὸν Φιμβρίαν Σύλλᾳ προδεδωκότες,
αὐθάδεις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παράνομοι, μάχιμοι
δὲ καὶ τλήμονες μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολέμου. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ τούτων τὸ θράσος
ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέ-
στρεψε, τότε πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, πειρωμένους
ἄρχοντος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνος· ἄλλως δ' ἐδη-
μαγωγοῦντο πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐθιζόμενοι στρατεύεσθαι.
3 Τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτως εἶχε. Μιθριδάτης, 49
ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, κομπώδης ἐν
ἀρχῇ καὶ σοβαρὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀναστὰς δια-
κένῳ δυνάμει, λαμπρᾷ δὲ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ τὴν
ὄψιν, εἶτ' ἐκπεσὼν καταγελάστως καὶ νουθετη-
θείς, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον πολεμεῖν ἔμελλεν, εἰς
ἀληθινὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν συνέστελλε τὰς δυνά-
4 μεις παρασκευήν. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὰ παντοδαπὰ
πλήθη καὶ τὰς πολυγλώσσους ἀπειλὰς τῶν
βαρβάρων, ὅπλων τε[1] διαχρύσων καὶ διαλίθων

[1] τε with S : δέ.

men who could be regarded as rivals of Lucullus in any dispute about this command. Cotta, however, his colleague in the consulship, after fervent entreaties to the Senate, was sent with some ships to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

VII. With a legion which he had raised himself in Italy, Lucullus crossed into Asia,[1] and there assumed command of the rest of the Roman forces. All these had long been spoiled by habits of luxury and greed, and the Fimbrians, as they were called, had become unmanageable, through long lack of discipline. These were the men who, in collusion with Fimbrius, had slain Flaccus, their consul and general, and had delivered Fimbrius himself over to Sulla. They were self-willed and lawless, but good fighters, hardy, and experienced in war. However, in a short time Lucullus pruned off their insolent boldness, and reformed the rest. Then for the first time, as it would seem, they made the acquaintance of a genuine commander and leader, whereas before this they had always been cajoled into doing their duty, like crowds at the hustings.

On the enemy's side, matters stood as follows. Mithridates, boastful and pompous at the outset, like most of the Sophists, had first opposed the Romans with forces which were really unsubstantial, though brilliant and ostentatious to look upon. With these he had made a ridiculous fiasco and learned a salutary lesson. When therefore, he thought to go to war the second time, he organized his forces into a genuinely effective armament. He did away with Barbarous hordes from every clime, and all their discordant and threatening cries; he provided no

[1] 74 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, i. 5.

κατασκευάς, ὡς λάφυρα τῶν κρατούντων, οὐκ ἀλκήν τινα τῶν κεκτημένων ὄντα, ξίφη μὲν ἠλαύνετο Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ θυρεοὺς ἐμβριθεῖς ἐπήγνυτο καὶ γεγυμνασμένους μᾶλλον ἢ κεκοσμημένους ἤθροιζεν ἵππους, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα κατεσκευασμένων εἰς φάλαγγα Ῥωμαϊκήν, ἱππεῖς δὲ πρὸς μυρίοις ἑξακισχιλίους ἄνευ τῶν δρεπανη-
5 φόρων τεθρίππων· ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἑκατόν· ἔτι δὲ ναῦς οὐ χρυσορόφοις σκηνίσιν οὐδὲ λουτροῖς παλλακίδων καὶ γυναικωνίτισι τρυφώσαις ἠσκημένας, ἀλλ' ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ χρημάτων γεμούσας παραρτυσάμενος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν, τῶν πόλεων αὖθις ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένων οὐ μόνον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην ὑποτροπὴ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν νοσημάτων εἶχεν, ἀφόρητα πάσχουσαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελω-
6 νῶν· οὓς ὕστερον μὲν ὥσπερ Ἁρπυίας τὴν τροφὴν ἁρπάζοντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐξήλασε, τότε δὲ μετριωτέρους ἐπειρᾶτο νουθετῶν ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κατέπαυε τῶν δήμων, οὐδενός, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡσυχάζοντος.

VIII. Ὃν δὲ περὶ ταῦτα Λούκουλλος ἠσχολεῖτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὁ Κόττας παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι πρὸς Μιθριδάτην. καὶ πολλῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἤδη Λούκουλλον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπιόντα, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχειν τὸν θρίαμβον οἰόμενος, ὡς μὴ μεταλάβῃ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῦ,
2 συμβαλεῖν ἔσπευσε. πληγεὶς δ' ἅμα καὶ κατὰ

more armour inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, for he saw that these made rich booty for the victors, but gave no strength whatever to their wearers; instead, he had swords forged in the Roman fashion, and heavy shields welded; he collected horses that were well trained rather than richly caparisoned, and a hundred and twenty thousand footmen drilled in the Roman phalanx formation, and sixteen thousand horsemen, not counting the scythe-bearing, four-horse chariots, which were a hundred in number: and further, he put in readiness ships which were not tricked out with gilded canopies, or baths for concubines, and luxurious apartments for women, but which were rather loaded down with armour and missiles and munitions of war. Then he burst into Bithynia, and not only did the cities there receive him again with gladness, but all Asia suffered a relapse into its former distempered condition, afflicted, as it was, past bearing by Roman money-lenders and tax-gatherers. These were afterwards driven off by Lucullus,—harpies that they were, snatching the people's food; but then he merely tried, by admonishing them, to make them more moderate in their demands, and laboured to stop the uprisings of the towns, hardly one of which was in a quiet state.

VIII. While Lucullus was thus occupied, Cotta, thinking that his own golden opportunity had come, was getting ready to give battle to Mithridates. And when tidings came from many sources that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, thinking that a triumph was all but in his grasp, and desiring that Lucullus have no share in it, he hastened to engage the king. But

γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν αὔτανδρα σκάφη, πεζοὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, αὐτὸς δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Χαλκηδόνα καὶ πολιορκούμενος εἰς τὰς Λουκούλλου χεῖρας ἀπέβλεπεν.

3 Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Λούκουλλον ἀμελήσαντα Κόττα πρόσω χωρεῖν παρορμῶντες ὡς ἔρημον αἱρήσοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου βασιλείαν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὗτος ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀγανακτούντων, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος κακῶς ὁ Κόττας, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἔσται νικᾶν ἀμαχεὶ δυνα-
4 μένοις. Λούκουλλος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τούτους δημηγορῶν εἶπεν, ὡς ἕνα βούλοιτ' ἂν ἐκ πολεμίων σῶσαι Ῥωμαῖον ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων· Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ περὶ Βοιωτίαν Μιθριδάτῃ στρατηγήσαντος, εἶτ' ἀποστάντος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντος, διαβεβαιουμένου ὀφθέντα Λούκουλλον ἐν Πόντῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατήσειν, οὐκ ἔφη δειλότερος εἶναι τῶν κυνηγῶν, ὥστε τὰ θηρία παρελθὼν ἐπὶ κενοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς φωλεοὺς βαδί-
5 ζειν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην προῆγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους. καταστὰς δ' εἰς ἔποψιν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ πλῆθος ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, Μαρίου δ', ὃν Σερτώριος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀπεστάλκει Μιθριδάτῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως στρατηγόν, ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλουμένου κατέστη μὲν εἰς τάξιν ὡς διαμαχούμενος, ἤδη δὲ ὅσον οὔπω συμφερο-
6 μένων, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ'

he was defeated by sea and land, lost sixty vessels, crews and all, and four thousand foot-soldiers, while he himself was shut up in Chalcedon and besieged there, looking for relief at the hands of Lucullus.

Now there were some who urged Lucullus to ignore Cotta and march on into the kingdom of Mithridates, assured of capturing it in its defenceless condition. This was the reasoning of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, by his evil counsels, should not only be the undoing of himself and his army, but also block their own way to a victory which they could have won without a battle. But Lucullus, in a harangue which he made them, said that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than take all that enemy's possessions. And when Archelaüs, who had held command for Mithridates in Boeotia, and then had abandoned his cause, and was now in the Roman army, stoutly maintained that if Lucullus were once seen in Pontus, he would master everything at once, Lucullus declared that he was at least as courageous as the hunter; he would not give the wild beasts the slip and stalk their empty lairs. With these words, he led his army against Mithridates, having thirty thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But when he had come within sight of the enemy and seen with amazement their multitude, he desired to refrain from battle and draw out the time. But Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates from Spain with an army, came out to meet him, and challenged him to combat, and so he put his forces in array to fight the issue out. But presently, as they were on the point of joining

ἐξαίφνης τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπορραγέντος[1] ὤφθη μέγα σῶμα φλογειδὲς εἰς μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καταφερόμενον, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα πίθῳ μάλιστα, τὴν δὲ χρόαν ἀργύρῳ διαπύρῳ προσεοικός, ὥστε δείσαντας ἀμφοτέρους τὸ φάσμα διακριθῆναι. 49
7 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν φασιν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὀτρύας συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος.

Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐδεμιᾶς εἶναι νομίζων ἀνθρωπίνης παρασκευῆς οὐδὲ πλούτου θρέψαι μυριάδας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθημένων πολεμίων τοσαύτας, ὅσας εἶχε Μιθριδάτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἕνα· καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέκρινε, μετὰ πόσων διαιτῷτο συσκήνων, ἔπειτα
8 πόσον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλέλοιπε σῖτον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τἀνθρώπου τὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε μεταστῆναι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὁμοίως ἀνέκρινεν. εἶτα συνθεὶς τὸ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης τροφῆς πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ τῶν τρεφομένων, ἔγνω τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπιλείψοντα σῖτον τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἴχετο τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα παμπληθῆ σῖτον, ὡς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάγων αὐτὸς ἐφεδρεύοι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπορίαις.

IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεβούλευε Κυζικηνοῖς πεπληγόσιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαλκηδόνα μάχῃ· τρισχιλίων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα νεῶν ἐστέρηντο. βουλόμενος οὖν λαθεῖν τὸν Λούκουλλον, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δείπνου νύκτα δυσφανῆ καὶ νοτερὰν ἔχων ἐκίνει· καὶ φθάνει τῆς πόλεως ἄντικρυς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀδραστείας ὄρος

[1] ὑπορραγέντος with S : ἀπορραγέντος.

battle, with no apparent change of weather, but all on a sudden, the sky burst asunder, and a huge, flame-like body was seen to fall between the two armies. In shape, it was most like a wine-jar, and in colour, like molten silver. Both sides were astonished at the sight, and separated. This marvel, as they say, occurred in Phrygia, at a place called Otryae.

But Lucullus, feeling sure that no human provision or wealth could maintain, for any length of time, and in the face of an enemy, so many thousands of men as Mithridates had, ordered one of the captives to be brought to him, and asked him first, how many men shared his mess, and then, how much food he had left in his tent. When the man had answered these questions, he ordered him to be removed, and questioned a second and a third in like manner. Then, comparing the amount of food provided with the number of men to be fed, he concluded that within three or four days the enemy's provisions would fail them. All the more, therefore, did he trust to time, and collected into his camp a great abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's distress.

IX. But in the meantime, Mithridates planned a blow at Cyzicus, which had suffered terribly in the battle near Chalcedon, having lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to evade the notice of Lucullus, he set out immediately after the evening meal, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, and succeeded in planting his forces over against the city, on the slopes of the mountain range

2 ἱδρύσας τὴν δύναμιν. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος καὶ διώξας ἠγάπησε μὲν οὐκ ἐμπεσὼν ἀσύντακτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθίζει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν περὶ τὴν Θρᾳκίαν λεγομένην κώμην ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς Μιθριδατικοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φοιτᾶν. διὸ καὶ περιλαβὼν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ θέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐμεγαληγόρησεν, ὡς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀναιμωτὶ τὸ νίκημα παραδώσων αὐτοῖς.

3 Κυζικηνοὺς δὲ Μιθριδάτης δέκα μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατοπέδοις περιλαβών, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διείργοντα τὴν πόλιν εὔριπον ἐμφράξας, ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπολιόρκει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διακειμένους πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθαρσῶς καὶ πᾶν ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίων ἐγνωκότας ἐκδέχεσθαι δυσχερές, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ ὅπη Λούκουλλος εἴη καὶ τῷ μηδὲν

4 περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπύσθαι ταραττομένους. καίτοι καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ στρατοπεδεία καὶ ἄποπτος, ἀλλ' ὑπο τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν ἐξηπατῶντο. δεικνύντες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἄνω παρεμβεβληκότας "Ὁρᾶτε τούτους;" ἔφασαν, "Ἀρμενίων στρατός ἐστι καὶ Μήδων, Τιγράνου Μιθριδάτῃ καταπέμψαντος ἐπικουρίαν." οἱ δ' ἐξεπλήσσοντο τοσούτου πολέμου περικεχυμένου μηδ', εἰ παραγένοιτο Λούκουλλος, χώραν ἔτι λελεῖφθαι βοηθείας ἐλπίζοντες.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς εἰσπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀρχελάου Δημῶναξ ἔφρασε τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου

of Adrasteia, by day-break. Lucullus got wind of his departure and pursued him, but was well satisfied not to fall upon the enemy while his own troops were in disorder from their march, and stationed his army near the village called Thracia, in a spot best suited to command the roads and regions from which, and over which, the army of Mithridates must get its necessary supplies. Seeing clearly, therefore, what the issue must be, he did not conceal it from his soldiers, but as soon as they had completed the labour of fortifying their camp, called them together, and boastfully told them that within a few days he would give them their victory, and that without any bloodshed.

Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus both by land and sea, having encompassed it with ten camps on the land side, and having blockaded with his ships by sea the narrow strait which parts the city from the mainland. Although the citizens viewed their peril with a high courage, and were resolved to sustain every hardship for the sake of the Romans, still, they knew not where Lucullus was, and were disturbed because they heard nothing of him. And yet his camp was in plain sight, only they were deceived by their enemies. These pointed the Romans out to them, lying encamped on the heights, and said: "Do you see those forces? It is an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates." They were therefore terrified to see such hosts encompassing them, and had no hopes that any way of succour remained, even if Lucullus should come.

However, in the first place, Demonax was sent in to them by Archelaüs, and told them that Lucullus

παρουσίαν. Τούτων δ' ἀπιστούντων καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ πεπλασμένα λέγειν, ἧκε παιδάριον αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδεδρακός. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ποῦ λέγοι τὸν Λούκουλλον εἶναι, κατεγέλα παίζειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενον. ὡς δ' ἑώρα σπουδάζοντας, ἐσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ'
6 ἀνεθάρσησαν. τῆς δὲ Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης πλεομένης ἀκατίοις ἐπιεικῶς εὐμεγέθεσι, τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνελκύσας καὶ διαγαγὼν ἁμάξῃ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὅσους ἐχώρει στρατιώτας ἐνεβίβασεν. ἔλαθον δὲ νυκτὸς διαπεράσαντες καὶ παρεισῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

X. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιθαρρῦναι τοὺς Κυζικηνούς, ἀγασθὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἄλλοις τε σημείοις ἐναργέσι, καὶ τῆς τῶν Φερεφαττίων ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης οἱ μὲν ἠπόρουν βοὸς μελαίνης πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ σταιτίνην πλάσαντες 49
τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν, ἡ δ' ἱερὰ καὶ τρεφομένη τῇ θεῷ νομὴν μὲν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ τἆλλα βοτὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποκριθεῖσα τῆς ἀγέλης μόνη διενήξατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν
2 αὐτήν. ὄναρ δ' ἡ θεὸς Ἀριστάγορᾳ τῷ τοῦ δήμου γραμματιστῇ παραστᾶσα, "Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε," εἶπεν, "ἥκω τὸν Λιβυκὸν αὐλητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐπάγουσα. φράσον οὖν θαρρεῖν τοῖς πολίταις." θαυμαζόντων δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ σάλον εἶχεν ἡ θάλασσα κατιόντος ἀκρίτου πνεύματος, αἵ τε μηχαναὶ τοῦ βασιλέως παρεστῶσαι τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ Νικωνίδου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, ῥοίζῳ

was arrived. They disbelieved him, and thought he had invented his story merely to mitigate their anxieties, but then a boy came to them, who had escaped from his captivity with the enemy. On their asking him where he thought Lucullus was, he laughed at them, supposing them to be jesting. But when he saw that they were in earnest, he pointed out the Roman camp to them, and their courage was revived. Again, Lucullus drew out on shore the largest of the sizable craft which plied the lake Dascylitis, carried it across to the sea on a waggon, and embarked upon it as many soldiers as it would hold, who crossed by night unobserved, and got safely into the city.

X. It would seem also that Heaven, in admiration of their bravery, emboldened the men of Cyzicus by many manifest signs, and especially by the following. The festival of Persephone was at hand, and the people, in lack of a black heifer for the sacrifice, fashioned one of dough, and brought it to the altar. Now the sacred heifer reared for the goddess was pasturing, like the other herds of the Cyzicenes, on the opposite side of the strait, but on that day she left her herd, swam over alone to the city, and presented herself for the sacrifice. And again, the goddess appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, saying: "Lo, here am I, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens therefore be of good cheer." While the Cyzicenes were lost in wonder at the saying, at day-break the sea began to toss under a boisterous wind, and the siege-engines of the king along the walls, the wonderful works of Niconides the Thessalian, by

3 καὶ πατάγῳ πρῶτον ἀπεδήλουν τὸ μέλλον· εἶτα νότος ἐκραγεὶς ἄπιστος τὸ μέγεθος τά τ' ἄλλα συνέτριψε μηχανήματα ὥρας βραχεῖ μορίῳ, καὶ τὸν ξύλινον πύργον ἑκατὸν πηχῶν ὕψος ὄντα διασείσας κατέβαλεν. ἱστορεῖται δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ πολλοῖς καθ' ὕπνον ὀφθῆναι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ ῥεομένην καὶ ὑποφαίνουσάν τι τοῦ πέπλου παρερρωγός, λέγουσαν, ὡς ἀρτίως ἥκοι βοηθήσασα Κυζικηνοῖς. καὶ στήλην τινὰ δόγματα καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσαν ἐδείκνυον Ἰλιεῖς.

XI. Μιθριδάτην δέ, ἄχρι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν φενακιζόμενος ἠγνόει τὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λιμόν, ἠνίων Κυζικηνοὶ διαφεύγοντες τὴν πολιορκίαν. ταχὺ δ' ἐξερρύη τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐν αἰσθήσει γενομένου τῶν ἀποριῶν, αἷς οἱ στρατιῶται συνείχοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωποφαγιῶν, ἅτε δὴ μὴ θεατρικῶς μηδ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς Λουκούλλου πολεμοῦντος, ἀλλά, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐναλλομένου καὶ ὅπως ὑφαιρήσει τὴν τροφὴν ἅπαντα πραγματευο-
2 μένου. διὸ καὶ φρούριόν τι πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῷ καιρῷ χρήσασθαι σπεύδων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ἀχρήστους. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἧκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρωὶ δὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀναλαβὼν σπείρας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἐδίωκε νιφόμενος καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ὥστε πολλοὺς ὑπὸ κρύους ἐνδιδόντας ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρα-

their creaking and cracking showed clearly what was about to happen; then a south wind burst forth with incredible fury, shattered the other engines in a short space of time, and threw down with a great shock the wooden tower a hundred cubits high. It is related, too, that the goddess Athena appeared to many of the inhabitants of Ilium in their sleep, dripping with sweat, showing part of her peplus torn away, and saying that she was just come from assisting the Cyzicenes. And the people of Ilium used to show a stelé which had on it certain decrees and inscriptions relating to this matter.

XI. Mithridates, as long as his generals deceived him into ignorance of the famine in his army, was vexed that the Cyzicenes should successfully withstand his siege. But his eager ambition quickly ebbed away when he perceived the straits in which his soldiers were involved, and their actual cannibalism. For Lucullus was not carrying on the war in any theatrical way, nor for mere display, but, as the saying is, was "kicking in the belly," and devising every means for cutting off food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was laying siege to some outpost or other, Mithridates eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and sent away into Bithynia almost all his horsemen, together with the beasts of burden, and those of his foot-soldiers who were disabled. On learning of this, Lucullus returned to his camp while it was still night, and early in the morning, in spite of a storm, took ten cohorts of infantry and his calvary, and started in pursuit, although snow was falling and his hardships were extreme. Many of his soldiers were overcome with the cold and had to be left behind, but with the rest he overtook the

τιωτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ τὸν Ῥυνδακὸν ποταμὸν
3 καταλαβὼν τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαύτην τροπὴν
ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας
προερχομένας ἀφαρπάζειν τὰ φορτία καὶ σκυ-
λεύειν τοὺς φονευομένους. πολλῶν δ', ὡς εἰκός,
ἀποθανόντων ἑάλωσαν ἵπποι μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι
καὶ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ὑποζυγίων, ἄνδρες δὲ
μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ τούτους ἄγων πάντας
παρεξῄει παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων.
4 Σαλουστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὦφθαι
Ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος, εἰ μήτε πρότερον
τοὺς μετὰ Σκηπίωνος νικήσαντας Ἀντίοχον ᾤετο
μήτε τοὺς ἔναγχος πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ
Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ μεμαχημένους ἐγνωκέναι
κάμηλον.
5 Ἀλλὰ τῷ γε Μιθριδάτῃ φεύγειν μὲν ἔγνωστο
τὴν ταχίστην, ἀνθολκὰς δὲ Λουκούλλῳ καὶ δια-
τριβὰς ὀπίσω μηχανώμενος ἔστελλε τὸν ναύαρχον
Ἀριστόνικον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ
ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας ὁ
Λούκουλλος ἐκυρίευσε μετὰ χρυσῶν μυρίων, οὓς
ἐκόμιζε διαφθερῶν τι τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύ-
ματος. ἐκ τούτου Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ
θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πεζοὶ τὸν στρατὸν
6 ἀπήγαγον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῖς
περὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν εἷλέ τε παμπόλλους
καὶ δισμυρίους ἀπέκτεινε. λέγονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ
παντὸς ἀκολούθων τε καὶ μαχίμων ὄχλου μυρι-
άδες οὐ πολὺ δὴ τῶν τριάκοντα λείπουσαι 49
διαφθαρῆναι.

XII. Λούκουλλος δὲ πρῶτον εἰς Κύζικον
παρελθὼν ἀπέλαυσεν ἡδονῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης

enemy at the river Rhyndacus and inflicted such a defeat upon them that the very women came forth from Apollonia and carried off their baggage and stripped their slain. Many fell in the battle, as it is natural to suppose. Six thousand horses and fifteen thousand men were captured, besides an untold number of beasts of burden. All these followed in the train of Lucullus as he marched back past the camp of the enemy. Sallust says, to my amazement, that camels were then seen by the Romans for the first time. He must have thought that the soldiers of Scipio who conquered Antiochus before this, and those who had lately fought Archelaüs at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia, were unacquainted with the camel.

Mithridates was now resolved upon the speediest possible flight, but with a view to drawing Lucullus away, and holding him back from pursuit, he dispatched his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea. Aristonicus was just on the point of sailing when he was betrayed into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying for the corruption of some portion of the Roman army. Upon this, Mithridates fled to the sea, and his generals of infantry began to lead the army away. But Lucullus fell upon them at the river Granicus, captured a vast number of them, and slew twenty thousand. It is said that out of the whole horde of camp-followers and fighting men, not much less than three hundred thousand perished in the campaign.

XII. Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which

πρεπούσης· ἔπειτα ναυτικὸν ἐξηρτύετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπιπορευόμενος. εἰς δὲ Τρῳάδα καταχθεὶς ἐσκήνωσε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ νύκτωρ ἐδόκει τὴν θεὰν ὁρᾶν ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσαν·

Τί κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δέ
τοι ἐγγύς.

2 ἐξαναστὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας διηγεῖτο τὴν ὄψιν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης. καὶ παρῆσαν ἐξ Ἰλίου τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὦφθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα πεντήρεις τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ Λῆμνον πλεούσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναχθεὶς τούτους μὲν εἷλε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπλει
3 πρῳρέας. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον ὁρμοῦντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πάντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν συνέλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων διεμάχοντο καὶ πληγὰς ἐδίδοσαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον, οὔτε περιπλεῦσαι τοῦ χωρίου διδόντος οὔτε βιάσασθαι ναυσὶ μετεώροις τὰς τῶν πολεμίων προσερηρεισμένας
4 τῇ γῇ καὶ βεβηκυίας ἀσφαλῶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ᾗ προσβολήν τινα ἡ νῆσος εἶχεν ἀποβιβάζει τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, οἳ κατόπιν ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρον αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἠνάγκαζον ἀποκόπτοντας τὰ πρυμνήσια τῶν νεῶν καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀλλήλοις τε συγκρούειν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον ὑποπίπτειν.
5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερτωρίου στρατηγός·

was his due ; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying :—

> "Why dost thou sleep, great lion ? the fawns
> are near for thy taking."

Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join. They chanced to be lying at anchor close to shore, and drawing their vessels all up on land, they fought from their decks, and sorely galled the crews of Lucullus. These had no chance to sail round their enemies, nor to make onset upon them, since their own ships were afloat, while those of their enemies were planted upon the land and securely fixed. However, Lucullus at last succeeded in disembarking the best of his soldiers where the island afforded some sort of access. These fell upon the enemy from the rear, slew some of them, and forced the rest to cut their stern cables and fly from the shore, their vessels thus falling foul of one another, and receiving the impact of the ships of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished, of course, and among the captives there was brought in Marius, the general sent from

ἦν γὰρ ἑτερόφθαλμος, καὶ παρήγγελτο τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐθὺς ἐπιπλέουσιν ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου μηδένα κτείνειν ἑτερόφθαλμον, ὅπως ἐξονειδισθεὶς καὶ καθυβρισθεὶς ἀποθάνοι.

XIII. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τούτων ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου δίωξιν. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἔτι περὶ Βιθυνίαν εὑρήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Βοκωνίου φρουρούμενον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐνστησόμενον τῇ φυγῇ
2 μετὰ νεῶν ἀπεστάλκει πρὸς Νικομήδειαν. ἀλλὰ Βοκώνιος μὲν ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ μυούμενος καὶ παννυχίζων καθυστέρησε· Μιθριδάτην δὲ ἀναχθέντα μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, σπεύδοντα πρὶν ἐπιστρέφειν Λούκουλλον εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεῦσαι, καταλαμβάνει χειμὼν πολύς, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν ἀφηρπάγη, τὰ δ' ἐβυθίσθη τῶν σκαφῶν, πᾶσα δ' ἡ παραλία τῶν ναυαγίων ἐκφερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἦν περίπλεως.
3 αὐτὸς δέ, τῆς ὁλκάδος, ἐφ' ἧς ἔπλει, μήτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν εὐπαρακομίστου διὰ μέγεθος ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κύματι τυφλῷ παρισταμένης τοῖς κυβερνήταις, πρός τε τὴν θάλασσαν ἤδη βαρείας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γενομένης, μετεμβὰς εἰς λῃστρικὸν μυοπάρωνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα πειραταῖς ἐγχειρίσας ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραβόλως εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν
4 Ἡράκλειαν ἐξεσώθη. Λουκούλλῳ δ' ἀνεμέσητος ἡ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπέβη φιλοτιμία. ψηφιζομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ταλάντων ἐξαρτύεσθαι ναυτικόν, ἐκώλυσε πέμψας γράμματα καὶ μεγαληγορήσας,

Sertorius. He had but one eye, and the soldiers had received strict orders from Lucullus, as soon as they set sail, to kill no one-eyed man. Lucullus wished Marius to die under the most shameful insults.

XIII. These things done, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates himself. For he expected to find him still in Bithynia under the watch and ward of Voconius, whom he had dispatched with a fleet to Nicomedeia that he might intercept the king's flight. But Voconius was behindhand, owing to his initiation into, and celebration of, the mysteries in Samothrace, and Mithridates put to sea with his armament, eager to reach Pontus before Lucullus turned and set upon him. He was overtaken, however, by a great storm, which destroyed some of his vessels and disabled others. The whole coast for many days was covered with the wrecks dashed upon it by the billows. As for the king himself, the merchantman on which he was sailing was too large to be readily beached when the sea ran so high and the waves were so baffling, nor would it answer to its helm, and it was now too heavy and full of water to gain an offing; accordingly, he abandoned it for a light brigantine belonging to some pirates, and, entrusting his person to their hands, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, got safely to Heracleia in Pontus. And so it happened that the boastful speech of Lucullus to the Senate brought no divine retribution down upon him. When, namely, that body was ready to vote three thousand talents to provide a fleet for this war, Lucullus blocked the measure by writing a letter, in which he made the haughty boast that

ὡς ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ τοσαύτης παρασκευῆς ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων ναυσὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ συναγωνισαμένου. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ Πριαπίνης ὁ χειμὼν ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς Ποντικοῖς συλήσασιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασπάσασι.

XIV. Πολλῶν δὲ Λουκούλλῳ παραινούντων ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ φροντίσας ἐνέβαλε διὰ Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικήν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὥστε Γαλάτας ἕπεσθαι τρισμυρίους ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων κομίζοντα σίτου μέδιμνον, προϊὼν δὲ καὶ κρατῶν ἁπάντων εἰς τοσαύτην ἦλθεν εὐπορίαν, 50
ὥστε τὸν μὲν βοῦν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δραχμῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων ὤνιον εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην λείαν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολείπειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀναλίσκειν. διάθεσις γὰρ ἦν οὐδενὸς πρὸς οὐδένα πάντων εὐπορούντων.

2 Ἀλλ' ὅσον φθεῖραι καὶ κακῶσαι τὴν χώραν ἱππασάμενοι καὶ καταδραμόντες ἄχρι Θεμισκύρας καὶ τῶν περὶ Θερμώδοντα πεδίων, ᾐτιῶντο τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πάσας προσάγεται τὰς πόλεις, κατὰ κράτος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ᾕρηκεν οὐδὲ παρέσχηκεν αὐτοῖς ὠφεληθῆναι διαρπάσασιν.
3 "Ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν," ἔφασαν, "Ἀμισόν, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσίαν, οὐ μέγα ὂν ἔργον, εἴ τις ἐντείναι τὴν πολιορκίαν, κατασχεῖν, ἀπολιπόντας ἡμᾶς ἄγει περὶ τὴν Τιβαρηνῶν καὶ Χαλδαίων

without any such costly array, but only with the ships of the allies, he would drive Mithridates from the sea. And this success he gained with the assistance of Heaven. For it is said that it was owing to the wrath of Artemis of Priapus that the tempest fell upon the men of Pontus, who had plundered her shrine and pulled down her image.

XIV. Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia.[1] At first he lacked the necessary supplies, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain upon his shoulders; but as he advanced and mastered everything, he found himself in the midst of such plenty that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man-slave for four, while other booty had no value at all. Some abandoned it, and some destroyed it. There was no sale for anything to anybody when all had such abundance.

But when Lucullus merely wasted and ravaged the country with cavalry incursions, which penetrated to Themiscyra and the plains of the river Thermodon, his soldiers found fault with him because he brought all the cities over to him by peaceable measures; he had not taken a single one by storm, they said, nor given them a chance to enrich themselves by plunder. "Nay," they said, "at this very moment we are leaving Amisus, a rich and prosperous city, which it would be no great matter to take, if its siege were pressed, and are following our general into the desert of the Tibareni and the Chaldaeans

[1] 73 B.C.

ἐρημίαν Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσοντας." ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλπίσας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας τοὺς στρατιώτας παραγαγεῖν, ὅσον ὕστερον ἐξέφηναν, ὑπερεώρα καὶ οὐκ
4 ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐκείνοις δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μᾶλλον, οἳ βραδυτῆτα κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐνταῦθα περὶ κώμας καὶ πόλεις οὐ πολλοῦ τινος ἀξίας πολὺν χρόνον, ἐῶντος δ' αὔξεσθαι Μιθριδάτην. "Αὐτὸ γάρ," ἔφη, "τοῦτο καὶ βούλομαι καὶ κάθημαι τεχνάζων, μέγαν αὖθις γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν,
5 ἵνα μείνῃ καὶ μὴ φύγῃ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε πολλὴν μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον ἐρημίαν ὀπίσω παροῦσαν; ἐγγὺς δὲ ὁ Καύκασος καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ καὶ βαθέα καὶ μυρίους βασιλεῖς φυγομαχοῦντας ἀρκοῦντα κατακρύψαι καὶ περισχεῖν· ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐκ Καβείρων, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀρμενίας κάθηται Τιγράνης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἔχων δύναμιν, ᾗ Πάρθους τε περικόπτει τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνακομίζει καὶ Συρίας κρατεῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀποκτιννύει, θυγατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ γυναῖκας
6 ἀνασπάστους. οὗτος οἰκεῖός ἐστι Μιθριδάτου καὶ γαμβρός. οὐ περιόψεται δὲ αὐτὸν ἱκέτην ὑποδεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ σπεύδοντες ἐκβάλλειν Μιθριδάτην κινδυνεύσομεν ἐπισπάσασθαι Τιγράνην, πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεόμενον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, εὐπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἂν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ βασιλέως ἀναγκασθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ. τί οὖν δεῖ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς

to fight with Mithridates." But these grievances, not dreaming that they would bring the soldiers to such acts of madness as they afterwards performed, Lucullus overlooked and ignored. He was, however, more ready to defend himself against those who denounced his slowness in lingering there a long while, subduing worthless little villages and cities, and allowing Mithridates to recruit himself. "That," he said, "is the very thing I want, and I am sitting here to get it. I want the man to become powerful again, and to get together a force with which it is worth our while to fight, in order that he may stand his ground, and not fly when we approach. Do you not see that he has a vast and trackless desert behind him? The Caucasus, too, is near, with its many hills and dells, which are sufficient to hide away in safety ten thousand kings who decline to fight. And it is only a few days' journey from Cabira into Armenia and over Armenia there sits enthroned Tigranes, King of Kings, with forces which enable him to cut the Parthians off from Asia, transplant Greek cities into Media, sway Syria and Palestine, put to death the successors of Seleucus, and carry off their wives and daughters into captivity. This king is a kinsman of Mithridates, his son-in-law. He will not be content to receive him as a suppliant, but will make war against us. If we strive, therefore, to eject Mithridates from his kingdom, we shall run the risk of drawing Tigranes down upon us. He has long wanted an excuse for coming against us, and could not get a better one than that of being compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this to pass,

ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι Μιθριδάτην ἀγνοοῦντα, μεθ' ὧν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμητέον, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀδοξοῦντα συνελαύνειν εἰς τὰς Τιγράνου χεῖρας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δόντας αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἀναθαρρῦναι, Κόλχοις καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖς καὶ Καππάδοξιν, ὧν πολλάκις κεκρατήκαμεν, μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Μήδοις καὶ Ἀρμενίοις;"

XV. Ἐπὶ τοιούτων λογισμῶν γενόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος περί τε τὴν Ἀμισὸν διέτριψε, μαλακῶς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ μετὰ χειμῶνα Μουρήναν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην καθήμενον ἐν Καβείροις καὶ διανοούμενον ὑφίστασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἠθροισμένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως εἰς τετρακισμυρίους πεζούς, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐθάρρει
2 μάλιστα. καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸ πεδίον προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. γενομένης δ' ἱππομαχίας ἔφυγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· Πομπώνιος δ' ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἑάλω τετρωμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήχθη κακῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων διακείμενος. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεται φίλος, "Ἄν γε δή," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίοις διαλλαγῇς· εἰ δὲ μή, πολέμιος." τοῦτον μὲν θαυμάσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐκ ἠδίκησε.

3 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκούλλου τὰ μὲν πεδία τῶν πολεμίων 50
ἱππικρατούντων δεδιότος, τὴν δ' ὀρεινὴν ὀκνοῦντος προϊέναι, μακρὰν καὶ ὑλώδη καὶ δύσβατον οὖσαν, ἁλίσκονταί τινες κατὰ τύχην Ἕλληνες εἴς τι

and teach Mithridates, when he does not know it, with what allies he must carry on war against us? Why help to drive him, against his wish and as a last resource, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving him time to equip himself from his own resources and get fresh courage? Then we shall fight with Colchians and Tibareni and Cappadocians, whom we have often overcome, rather than with Medes and Armenians."

XV. Influenced by such considerations as these, Lucullus lingered about Amisus, without pushing the siege vigorously. When winter was over, he left Murena in charge of the siege, and marched against Mithridates,[1] who had taken his stand at Cabira, and intended to await the Roman onset there. A force of forty thousand footmen had been collected by him, and four thousand horsemen; on the latter he placed his chief reliance. Crossing the river Lycus and advancing into the plain, he offered the Romans battle. A cavalry fight ensued, and the Romans took to flight. Pomponius, a man of some note, having been wounded, was taken prisoner and led into the presence of Mithridates, suffering greatly from his wounds. When the king asked him if he would become his friend provided he spared his life, Pomponius answered: "Yes, indeed, if you come to terms with the Romans; otherwise I must remain your enemy." Mithridates was struck with admiration for him, and did him no harm.

Lucullus was now afraid of the plains, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and yet hesitated to go forward into the hill country, which was remote, woody, and impassable. But it chanced that certain

[1] 72 B.C.

σπήλαιον καταφυγόντες, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὑπέσχετο τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξειν καὶ καταστάσειν ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἀσφαλεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ φρούριον ἔχοντι τοῖς Καβείροις ἐπικρεμάμενον.
4 πιστεύσας δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἅμα τῇ νυκτὶ πυρὰ καύσας ἐκίνει· καὶ τὰ στενὰ παρελθὼν ἀσφαλῶς τὸ χωρίον εἶχε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπερεφαίνετο τῶν πολεμίων ἱδρύων τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τόποις, οἳ μάχεσθαι βουλομένῳ προσαγωγὴν ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τὸ μὴ βιασθῆναι παρεῖχον ἡσυχάζοντι.

5 Γνώμην μὲν οὖν οὐδέτερος εἶχεν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι διακινδυνεύειν· ἔλαφον δὲ λέγεται τῶν βασιλικῶν διωκόντων ὑποτεμνομένους ἀπαντῆσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμπεσόντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πλειόνων ἑκατέροις ἀεὶ προσγινομένων. τέλος δ' ἐνίκων οἱ βασιλικοί· καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθορῶντες ἤσχαλλον καὶ συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἄγειν σφᾶς δεόμενοι καὶ σύνθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην αἰτοῦντες.
6 ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγῶνι πολέμου καὶ κινδύνῳ παρουσία καὶ ὄψις ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος, ἐκείνους μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαντήσας τῶν φευγόντων ἵστασθαι
7 προσέταξε καὶ ἀναστρέφειν μετ' αὐτοῦ. πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεταβαλόμενοι καὶ συστάντες ὀλίγῳ πόνῳ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καταδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς φεύγουσι νενομισμένην προσέβαλε, κελεύσας ἐν χιτῶσιν

Greeks, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave, were captured, and the elder of them, Artemidorus, promised to serve Lucullus as a guide, and set him in a place which was safe for his camp, and which had a fortress overlooking Cabira. Lucullus put confidence in this promise, and as soon as it was night, lit his camp fires and set out. He passed safely through the narrow defiles and took possession of the desired place, and at daybreak was seen above the enemy, stationing his men in positions which gave him access to the enemy if he wished to fight, and safety from their assaults if he wished to keep quiet.

Now neither commander had any intention of hazarding an engagement at once. But we are told that while some of the king's men were chasing a stag, the Romans cut them off and confronted them, whereupon a skirmish followed, with fresh accessions continually to either side. At last, the king's men were victorious. Then the Romans in their camp, beholding the flight of their comrades, were in distress, and ran in throngs to Lucullus, begging him to lead them, and demanding the signal for battle. But he, wishing them to learn how important, in a dangerous struggle with the enemy, the visible presence of a prudent general is, bade them keep quiet. Then he went down into the plain by himself, and confronting the foremost of the fugitives, bade them stop, and turn back with him. They obeyed, and the rest also wheeled about and formed in battle array, and in a short time routed the enemy and drove them to their camp. When he came back, however, Lucullus inflicted the customary disgrace upon the fugitives. He bade them dig a twelve-

ἀζώστοις ὀρύξαι δώδεκα ποδῶν τάφρον, ἐφεστώτων καὶ θεωμένων τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν.

XVI. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπέδῳ Δανδαρίων δυνάστης Ὀλθακὸς (γένος δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Δανδάριοι βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν οἰκούντων), ἀνὴρ ὅσα χειρὸς ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐν πολέμῳ διαπρεπὴς ἅπαντα, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἔτι δ' ἐμμελὴς ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ θεραπευτικός. οὗτος ἔχων ἀεὶ πρός τινα τῶν ὁμοφύλων δυναστῶν ἅμιλλαν ὑπὲρ πρωτείων καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ὑπέσχετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μέγα
2 ἔργον, ἀποκτενεῖν Λούκουλλον. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καί τινας αὐτῷ προσβαλόντος ἐπίτηδες ἀτιμίας εἰς προσποίησιν ὀργῆς ἀφιππάσατο πρὸς Λούκουλλον· ὁ δ' ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο· λόγος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ ταχὺ πειρώμενος ἠσπάζετο τήν τε ἀγχίνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ λιπαρές, ὥστε τραπέζης καὶ συνεδρίου ποτὲ ποιεῖσθαι κοινωνόν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει καιρὸν ἔχειν ὁ Δανδάριος, τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος ἐκέλευσε προαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, αὐτὸς δὲ μεσημβρίας οὔσης καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνδιαζόντων καὶ ἀναπαυομένων ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὡς οὐδενὸς κωλύσοντος εἰσελθεῖν ἄνδρα συνήθη καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀξίους σπουδῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ κομίζειν
4 φάσκοντα. κἂν εἰσῆλθεν ἀδεῶς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πολλοὺς ἀνῃρηκὼς στρατηγοὺς ὕπνος Λούκουλλον ἔσωσεν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καθεύδων· καὶ Μενέδημος, εἷς τῶν κατευναστῶν, παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ἑστὼς οὐκ ἔφη κατὰ καιρὸν ἥκειν τὸν Ὀλθακόν, ἄρτι Λουκούλλου πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ πόνων

foot ditch, working in ungirt blouses, while the rest of the soldiers stood by and watched them.

XVI. In the camp of Mithridates there was a Dandarian prince named Olthacus (the Dandarians are a tribe of barbarians dwelling about Lake Maeotis), a man conspicuous as a soldier for qualities of strength and boldness, of a most excellent judgment, and withal affable in address and of insinuating manners. This man was always in emulous rivalry for the precedence with a fellow prince of his tribe, and so was led to undertake a great exploit for Mithridates, namely, the murder of Lucullus. The king approved of his design; and purposely inflicted upon him sundry marks of disgrace, whereupon, pretending to be enraged, he galloped off to Lucullus, who gladly welcomed him, since there was much talk of him in the camp. After a short probation, Lucullus was so pleased with his shrewdness and zeal, that he made him a table companion, and at last a member of his council.

Now when the Dandarian thought his opportunity had come, he ordered his slaves to lead his horse outside the camp, while he himself, at mid-day, when the soldiers were lying around enjoying their rest, went to the general's tent. He thought no one would deny entrance to a man who was an intimate of the general, and said he brought him certain messages of great importance. And he would have entered without let or hindrance, had not sleep, the destroyer of many generals, saved Lucullus. For it chanced that he was asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, who stood at the tent-door, told Olthacus that he had come at an inopportune time, since Lucullus had just betaken himself to rest after

5 τοσούτων δεδωκότος ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπῄει κελεύοντος, ἀλλ' ἔφη καὶ κωλύοντος εἰσελεύσεσθαι περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος, ἤδη πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Μενέδημος εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον τοῦ σώζεσθαι Λούκουλλον ἀπεώσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον 502
6 ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσίν. ὁ δὲ δείσας ὑπεξῆλθε τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλασεν εἰς τὸ Μιθριδάτου στρατόπεδον ἄπρακτος. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁ καιρὸς ὥσπερ τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τὴν σώζουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀναιροῦσαν ῥοπὴν προστίθησιν.

XVII. Ἐκ τούτου Σωρνάτιος μὲν ἐπὶ σίτου κομιδὴν ἐπέμφθη μετὰ δέκα σπειρῶν· καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου, τῶν Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῶν ἑνός, ἀντέστη καὶ συμβαλὼν φόνον ἐποίησε πολὺν καὶ τροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων. αὖθις δὲ πεμφθέντος Ἀδριανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως, ὅπως ἐκ περιουσίας ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται σῖτον, οὐ περιεῖδε Μιθριδάτης, ἀλλ' ἀπέστειλε Μενέμαχον καὶ Μύρωνα πολλῶν μὲν ἱππέων, πολλῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἡγουμένους.
2 οὗτοι πάντες, ὡς λέγεται, πλὴν δυεῖν κατεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔκρυπτε τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐ τοσαύτην οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ μικράν, προσκεκρουκότων ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ λαμπρὸς παρημείβετο τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὰς κατάγων ἁμάξας σίτου καὶ λαφύρων γεμούσας, ὥστε δυσθυμίαν μὲν αὐτῷ, ταραχὴν δὲ καὶ φόβον ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσεῖν
3 τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐδέδοκτο μὲν οὖν μηκέτι μένειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προεξέπεμπον οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα καθ' ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους

his long watching and many hardships. Olthacus did not retire at the bidding of Menedemus, but declared that even in spite of him he would go in, since he wished to confer with the general on urgent business of great importance. Then Menedemus got angry, declared that nothing was more urgent than the preservation of Lucullus, and pushed the man away with both hands. Then Olthacus, in fear, left the camp, took horse, and rode off to the camp of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. So true is it that in active life, as well as in sickness, it is the critical moment which gives the scales their saving or their fatal inclination.

XVII. After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to get supplies of grain. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, he faced about, joined battle, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. And again, when Adrian was sent out with a force to procure an abundance of grain for the soldiers, Mithridates did not look on idly, but dispatched Menemachus and Myron, at the head of a large body of cavalry and footmen. All these, it is said, except two, were cut to pieces by the Romans. Mithridates tried to conceal the extent of the disaster, pretending that it was a slight matter, and due to the inexperience of his generals. But when Adrian marched pompously past his camp, convoying many waggons laden with grain and booty, a great despair fell upon the king, and confusion and helpless fear upon his soldiers. They decided, therefore, to remain where they were no longer. But when the king's servants tried to send away their own baggage first, and to hinder the rest from going, the soldiers at once got angry, pushed and forced

ἐκώλυον, ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ὠθούμενοι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἥρπαζον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπέσφαττον. ὅπου καὶ Δορύλαος ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔχων ἢ τὴν πορφύραν περὶ αὑτὸν ἀπώλετο διὰ ταύτην, Ἑρμαῖος δὲ ὁ θύτης κατεπατήθη περὶ τὰς πύλας.

4 Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης, οὔτε ὀπαδοῦ τινος οὔτε ἱππικόμου παραμείναντος αὐτῷ, συνεξέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναμεμιγμένος, οὐδ' ἵππου τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐπορήσας, ἀλλ' ὀψέ που κατιδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ῥεύματι τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης διαφερόμενον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἵππον ἔχων αὐτὸς ἀπεπήδησε καὶ
5 παρέσχεν. ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον ἐπικείμενοι· καὶ τάχει μὲν οὐκ ἀπελίποντο τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἔγγιστα τούτου, φιλοπλουτία δὲ καὶ μικρολογία στρατιωτικὴ τὸ πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις διωκόμενον ἐκ μακροῦ θήραμα Ῥωμαίους ἀφείλετο καὶ Λούκουλλον ἀπεστέρησε νικῶντα τῶν ἐπάθλων.
6 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐφικτῷ τῆς διώξεως ὁ ὑπεκφέρων τὸν ἄνδρα ἵππος, ἡμιόνου δὲ τῶν τὸ χρυσίον κομιζόντων μεταξὺ τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου παρεισπεσόντος, εἴτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίτηδες ἐμβαλόντος αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἁρπάζοντες καὶ συλλέγοντες τὸ χρυσίον καὶ
7 διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθυστέρησαν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πλεονεξίας Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα Καλλίστρατον ὁ μὲν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες αἰσθόμενοι πεντακοσίους

their way to the exits of the camp, and there plundered the baggage and slew the men in charge of it. There it was that Dorylaüs, the general, with nothing else about him but his purple robe, lost his life for that, and Hermaeus, the priest, was trampled to death at the gates.

Mithridates himself, with no attendant or groom to assist him, fled away from the camp in the midst of the throng, not even provided with one of the royal horses; but at last the eunuch Ptolemaeus, who was mounted, spied him as he was borne along in the torrent of the rout, leaped down from his horse, and gave it to the king. Presently the Romans, who were forcing the pursuit, were hard upon him, and it was for no lack of speed that they did not take him. Indeed, they were very near doing so, but greed, and petty soldier's avarice, snatched from them the quarry which they had so long pursued in many struggles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the victor's prize. For the horse which carried the king was just within reach of his pursuers, when one of the mules which carried the royal gold came between him and them, either of his own accord, or because the king purposely sent him into the path of pursuit. The soldiers fell to plundering and collecting the gold, fought with one another over it, and so were left behind in the chase. Nor was this the only fruit of their greed which Lucullus reaped. He had given orders that Callistratus, who was in charge of the king's private papers, should be brought alive to him, but his conductors, finding that he had five hundred pieces of gold in his girdle, slew him.

χρυσοῦς ὑπεζωσμένον ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τὸν χάρακα πορθῆσαι.

XVIII. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων τὰ πλεῖστα θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους εὗρε καὶ δεσμωτήρια, πολλῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πολλῶν δὲ συγγενῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καθειργμένων, οἷς πάλαι τεθνάναι δοκοῦσιν οὐ σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀναβίωσιν καὶ δευτέραν τινὰ γέννησιν ἡ Λουκούλ-
2 λου χάρις παρέσχεν. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου Νύσσα σωτήριον ἅλωσιν· αἱ δ' ἀπωτάτω τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποκεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαι περὶ Φαρνάκειαν ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες οἰκτρῶς ἀπώλοντο, Μιθριδάτου πέμψαντος ἐπ' 50
αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς Βακχίδην εὐνοῦχον. ἦσαν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀδελφαί τε δύο τοῦ βασιλέως, Ῥωξάνη καὶ Στάτειρα, περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη παρθενευόμεναι, καὶ γαμεταὶ δύο, γένος Ἰωνίδες, Βερενίκη μὲν ἐκ Χίου, Μονίμη δὲ Μιλησία.
3 ταύτης ὁ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως πειρῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους χρυσοῦς προσπέμψαντος ἀντέσχε, μέχρι οὗ γάμων ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι καὶ διάδημα πέμψας αὐτῇ βασίλισσαν ἀνηγόρευσεν. αὕτη καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνιαρῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀπεθρήνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν, ὡς δεσπότην μὲν ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀντὶ γάμου καὶ οἴκου προξενήσασαν, πόρρω δέ που τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμένη τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὄναρ σύνεστι, τῶν δ' ἀληθινῶν ἐκείνων ἀπεστέρηται.

However, Lucullus allowed such soldiers as these to plunder the enemy's camp.

XVIII. In capturing Cabira and most of the other strongholds, he found great treasures, and many prisons, in which many Greeks and many kinsfolk of the king were confined. As they had long been given up for dead, it was not so much a rescue as it was a resurrection and a sort of second birth, for which they were indebted to the favour of Lucullus. Nyssa, a sister of Mithridates, was also captured; and her capture was her salvation. But the sisters and wives of the king who were thought to be at farthest remove from danger and quietly hidden away in Pharnacia, perished pitifully, since Mithridates paused long enough in his flight to send Bacchides, a eunuch, to compass their death. Among many other women, there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, about forty years old and unmarried; and two of his wives, of Ionian families, Berenicé from Chios, and Monimé, a Milesian. The latter was most talked of among the Greeks, to the effect that though the king tempted her virtue and sent her fifteen thousand pieces of gold, she resisted his advances, until he entered into a marriage contract with her, sent her a diadem, and greeted her with the title of Queen. But her marriage had been an unhappy one, and she bewailed that beauty which had procured her a master instead of a husband, and a guard of Barbarians instead of home and family, dwelling as she did far, far away from Greece, where the blessings for which she had hoped existed only in her dreams, while she was bereft of the real blessings to which she had been wonted.

4 Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Βακχίδου παραγενομένου καὶ προστάξαντος αὐταῖς ἀποθνήσκειν, ὡς ἑκάστῃ δοκοίη ῥᾷστον εἶναι καὶ ἀλυπότατον, περισπάσασα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ διάδημα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιῆψε καὶ ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτήν. ταχὺ δ' ἀπορραγέντος "Ὦ κατηραμένον," ἔφη, "ῥάκος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτό μοι χρήσιμον ἔσῃ;" κἀκεῖνο μὲν ἀπέρριψε προσπτύσασα, τῷ δὲ Βακχίδῃ τὴν
5 σφαγὴν παρέσχεν. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη κύλικα φαρμάκου λαβοῦσα, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῇ παρούσης καὶ δεομένης, μετέδωκε. καὶ συνεξέπιον μὲν ἀμφότεραι, ἤρκεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ φαρμάκου δύναμις εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον σῶμα, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει πιοῦσαν οὐκ ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ δυσθανατοῦσα
6 τοῦ Βακχίδου σπεύδοντος ἀπεπνίγη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀδελφῶν ἐκείνων τὴν μὲν ἐπαρωμένην πολλὰ καὶ λοιδοροῦσαν ἐκπιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν δὲ Στάτειραν οὔτε δύσφημόν τι φθεγξαμένην οὔτ' ἀγεννές, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦσαν τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἠμέλησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προὐνόησεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀνυβρίστους ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φύσει χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἠνία τὸν Λούκουλλον.

XIX. Ἐλάσας δ' ἄχρι Ταλαύρων, ἔνθεν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον ἐφθάκει Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς Τιγράνην πεφευγώς, ἀποτρέπεται. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν παραλαβὼν καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις παραστησάμενος, Ἄππιον μὲν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐξαιτῶν Μιθριδάτην, αὐτὸς
2 δ' ἧκε πρὸς Ἀμισὸν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην. αἴτιος

And now Bacchides came and ordered them all to die, in whatever manner each might deem easiest and most painless. Monimé snatched the diadem from her head, fastened it round her neck, and hanged herself. But her halter quickly broke in two. "O cursed bauble," she cried, "couldst thou not serve me even in this office?" Then she spat upon it, hurled it from her, and offered her throat to Bacchides. But Berenicé, taking a cup of poison, shared it with her mother, who stood at her side and begged for some. Together they drank it off, and the force of the poison sufficed for the weaker body, but it did not carry off Berenicé, who had not drunk enough. As she was long in dying, and Bacchides was in a hurry, she was strangled. It is said also that of the unmarried sisters, one drank off her poison with many abusive imprecations on her brother; but that Statira did so without uttering a single reproachful or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother because, when his own life was at hazard, he had not neglected them, but had taken measures to have them die in freedom and under no insults. Of course these things gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a gentle and humane disposition.

XIX. Lucullus pushed on in pursuit as far as Talaura, whence, four days before, Mithridates had succeeded in escaping to Tigranes, in Armenia; then he turned aside. After subduing the Chaldaeans and the Tibareni, he occupied Lesser Armenia, reducing its fortresses and cities, and then sent Appius to Tigranes with a demand for Mithridates. He himself, however, came to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. Its success in

δ' ἣν Καλλίμαχος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμπειρίᾳ μηχανικῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ δεινότητι πανουργίας, ὅσην πολιορκία δέχεται, πλεῖστα λυπήσας Ῥωμαίους· ὧν ὕστερον ἔδωκε δίκην. τότε δ' ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου καταστρατηγηθείς, ὑφ' ἣν ἔθος εἶχεν ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάγειν καὶ ἀναπαύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν ἐκείνῃ προσβαλόντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ κατασχόντος οὐ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν, εἴτε φθονῶν ὠφεληθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτε ῥᾳστώνην φυγῆς ἑαυτῷ μηχανώ-
3 μενος. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφρόντιζε τῶν ἐκπλεόντων, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἡ φλὸξ ἀναδραμοῦσα πολλὴ τὰ τείχη περιέσχεν, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ἁρπαγήν, ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οἰκτείρων ἀπολλυμένην τὴν πόλιν ἔξωθεν ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ σβεννύναι παρεκάλει, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτουμένων τὰ χρήματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὅπλα κρουόντων, ἕως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς αὐτήν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐξαιρησόμενος τοῦ πυρός.
4 οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔπραξαν. πάντα γὰρ ἐξερευνῶντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ πανταχοῦ φῶς ἐπιφέροντες αὐτοὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν οἰκημάτων καθεῖλον, ὥστε τὸν Λούκουλλον εἰσελθόντα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ δακρύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς πολλάκις ἤδη Σύλλαν μακαρίσας μάλιστα τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν τἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν θαυμάσειεν,
5 ὅτι σῶσαι βουληθεὶς ἐδυνήθη τὰς Ἀθήνας. "Ἐμὲ

this was due to Callimachus, its commander, who, by his acquaintance with mechanical contrivances and his power to employ every resource which the siege of a city demands, had given the Romans the greatest annoyance. For this he afterwards paid the penalty. But at this time, he was simply outgeneralled by Lucullus, who made a sudden attack at just that time of day when Callimachus was accustomed to draw his soldiers off from the ramparts and give them a rest. When the Romans had got possession of a small part of the wall, Callimachus abandoned the city, first setting fire to it with his own hands, either because he begrudged the visitors their booty, or because his own escape was thus facilitated. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing away, but when the flames increased mightily and enveloped the walls, the soldiers made ready to plunder the houses. Lucullus, out of pity for the perishing city, tried to bring aid from outside against the fire, and gave orders to extinguish the flames, but no one paid any heed to his commands. The soldiers all clamoured for the booty, and shouted, and clashed their shields and spears together, until he was forced to let them have their way, hoping that he could at least save the city itself from the flames. But the soldiers did just the opposite. Ransacking everything by torch-light and carrying lights about everywhere, they destroyed most of the houses themselves. When Lucullus entered the city at daybreak, he burst into tears, and said to his friends that he had often already deemed Sulla happy, and on that day more than ever he admired the man's good fortune, in that when he wished to save Athens, he had the power to do so. "But upon

δ'," ἔφη, "τούτου ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον εἰς τὴν Μομμίου δόξαν ὁ δαίμων περιέστησεν."

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὄμβροι κατέσβεσαν ἔκ τινος θείας τύχης περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν αὐτὴν συμπεσόντες, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸς ἔτι παρὼν ἀνῳκοδόμησε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας Ἀμισηνῶν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων κατῴκισε τοὺς βουλομένους, εἴκοσι καὶ
6 ἑκατὸν σταδίων χώραν προσορίσας. ἦν δ' ἡ πόλις Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἄρα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς ἤκμαζεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν καὶ κατεῖχε τὴν θάλασσαν, οἰκισθεῖσα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀριστίωνος τυραννίδα βουλομένων φεύγειν εἰσπλεύσαντες αὐτοῦ κατῴκουν καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς συνέβη τὰ οἰκεῖα κακὰ φεύγουσιν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. ἀλλὰ τούς γε σωθέντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀμφιέσας καλῶς καὶ διακοσίας ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἐπιδοὺς ἀπέστειλε.
7 τότε καὶ Τυραννίων ὁ γραμματικὸς ἑάλω· Μουρήνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐξητήσατο καὶ λαβὼν ἀπηλευθέρωσεν, ἀνελευθέρως τῇ δωρεᾷ χρησάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἠξίου Λούκουλλος ἄνδρα διὰ παιδείαν ἐσπουδασμένον δοῦλον γενέσθαι πρότερον, εἶτ' ἀπελεύθερον. ἀφαίρεσις γὰρ ἦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡ τῆς δοκούσης ἐλευθερίας δόσις. ἀλλὰ Μουρήνας μὲν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ὤφθη πολὺ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἀποδέων.

me," he said, "who have been so eager to imitate his example, Heaven has devolved the reputation of Mummius."

However, as far as circumstances allowed, he endeavoured to restore the city. The fire, indeed, had been quenched by showers which fell providentially just as the city was captured, and most of what the soldiers had destroyed he rebuilt himself before his departure. He also received into the city those of the Amisenes who had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who so desired, and added to the city's domain a tract of a hundred and twenty stadia. The city was a colony of Athens, founded in that period when her power was at its height and she controlled the sea. And this was the reason why many who wished to escape the tyranny of Aristion [1] at Athens sailed to Amisus, settled there, and became citizens. In flying from evils at home, they got the benefit of greater evils abroad. But those of them who survived were well clothed by Lucullus, and sent back home, with a present of two hundred drachmas apiece. Tyrannio the grammarian was also taken prisoner at this time. Murena asked to have him as his own prize, and on getting him, formally gave him his liberty, therein making an illiberal use of the gift which he had received. For Lucullus did not think it meet that a man so esteemed for his learning should first become a slave, and then be set at liberty. To give him a nominal liberty was to rob him of the liberty to which he was born. But this was not the only case in which Murena was found to be far inferior to his commander in nobility of conduct.

[1] Tyrant of Athens when the city was besieged by Sulla, 87 B.C.

XX. Λούκουλλος δὲ τρέπεται πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὅπως, τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων σχολάζοντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκης τινὸς μετάσχῃ καὶ θεσμῶν, ὧν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδεῆ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν οὖσαν ἄρρητοι καὶ ἄπιστοι δυστυχίαι κατεῖχον, ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην, πιπράσκειν ἰδίᾳ μὲν υἱοὺς εὐπρεπεῖς θυγατέρας τε παρθένους, δημοσίᾳ δ' ἀναθήματα, γραφάς, ἱεροὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀναγκα-
2 ζομένων. αὐτοῖς δὲ τέλος μὲν ἦν προσθέτοις γενομένοις δουλεύειν, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, σχοινισμοὶ καὶ κιγκλίδες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ στάσεις ὕπαιθροι, καύματος μὲν ἐν ἡλίῳ, ψύχους δ' εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβιβαζομένων ἢ πάγον, ὥστε τὴν δουλείαν σεισάχθειαν δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ εἰρήνην.
3 τοιαῦτα μὲν κακὰ Λούκουλλος εὑρὼν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πάντων ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς ἀδικουμένους.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἑκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλέον εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς μακροτέρους τοῦ ἀρχαίου τόκους ἀπέκοψε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἔταξε τῶν τοῦ χρεωφειλέτου προσόδων τὴν τετάρτην μερίδα καρποῦσθαι τὸν δανειστήν· ὁ δὲ τόκον κεφαλαίῳ
4 συνάψας ἐστέρητο τοῦ παντός· ὥστ' ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ τετραετίας διαλυθῆναι τὰ χρέα πάντα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐλευθέρας ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς δεσπόταις. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον ἐκ τῶν δισμυρίων ταλάντων, οἷς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐζημίωσεν ὁ Σύλλας· καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων

XX. Lucullus now turned his attention to the cities in Asia,[1] in order that, while he was at leisure from military enterprises, he might do something for the furtherance of justice and law. Through long lack of these, unspeakable and incredible misfortunes were rife in the province. Its people were plundered and reduced to slavery by the tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters, and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse,—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, and in winter, being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace. Such were the evils which Lucullus found in the cities, and in a short time he freed the oppressed from all of them.

In the first place, he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent., and no more; in the second place, he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor's income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus, in less than four years' time, the debts were all paid, and the properties restored to their owners unencumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money-lenders. Yet now, by

[1] 71–70 B.C.

ἀνηγμένον ἤδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας
5 ταλάντων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὡς δεινὰ πεπονθότες
ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατεβόων, καὶ χρή-
μασιν ἀνίστασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν δημαγωγῶν,
μέγα δυνάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπόχρεως πεποιη-
μένοι τῶν πολιτευομένων. ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐ
μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἠγαπᾶτο δήμων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις ποθεινὸς ἦν,
εὐδαιμονιζούσαις τοὺς ἡγεμόνος τοιούτου τυ-
χόντας.

XXI. Ἄππιος δὲ Κλώδιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς
Τιγράνην (ἦν δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀδελφὸς τῆς τότε 50
Λουκούλλῳ συνοικούσης) πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
βασιλικῶν ὁδηγῶν κύκλον τινὰ καὶ περιβολὴν
ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πολυήμερον ὁδὸν διὰ
τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀγόμενος, μηνύσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν
εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν ἀπελευθέρου Σύρου τὸ γένος, ἐκ-
τρέπεται τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ σοφιστικῆς,
ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀγωγοῖς,
καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας
2 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἧκε τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης. ἔπειτα
Τιγράνην αὐτοῦ κελευσθεὶς περιμένειν (ἀπῆν γὰρ
ἐνίας ἔτι τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλεων καταστρεφό-
μενος), πολλοὺς μὲν ᾠκειώσατο τῶν ὑπούλως
ἀκροωμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίου δυναστῶν, ὧν εἷς ἦν
καὶ Ζαρβιηνὸς ὁ τῆς Γορδυηνῆς βασιλεύς,
πολλαῖς δὲ κρύφα τῶν δεδουλωμένων πόλεων
διαπεμπομέναις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο τὴν Λου-
κούλλου βοήθειαν, ἐν τῷ παρόντι κελεύσας
ἡσυχάζειν.
3 Ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸς ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴ

reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to a hundred and twenty thousand talents. These men, accordingly, considered themselves outraged, and raised a clamour against Lucullus at Rome. They also bribed some of the tribunes to proceed against him, being men of great influence, who had got many of the active politicians into their debt. Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other provinces also longed to have him set over them, and felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have such a governor.

XXI. Appius Clodius, who had been sent to Tigranes (Clodius was a brother of her who was then the wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the royal guides through the upper country by a route needlessly circuitous and long. But when a freedman of his, who was a Syrian, told him of the direct route, he left the long one which was being trickily imposed upon him, bade his Barbarian guides a long farewell, and within a few days crossed the Euphrates and came to Antioch by Daphne.[1] Then, being ordered to await Tigranes there (the king was still engaged in subduing some cities of Phoenicia), he gained over many of the princes who paid but a hollow obedience to the Armenian. One of these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. He also promised many of the enslaved cities, when they sent to confer with him secretly, the assistance of Lucullus, although for the present he bade them keep quiet.

Now the sway of the Armenians was intolerably

[1] The great Antioch on the river Orontes. Daphne was the name of a grove near the city consecrated to Apollo.

τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ χαλεπή· καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τραγικὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐτυχίαις ἐγεγόνει, πάντων, ὅσα ζηλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οὐ μόνον ὄντων περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν
4 γεγονέναι δοκούντων. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης ἐλπίδος ἔθνη πολλὰ κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τὴν Πάρθων, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς, δύναμιν ἐταπείνωσεν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐνέπλησε, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ Καππαδοκίας ἀνασπάστους κατοικίζων. ἐκίνησε δ' ἐξ ἠθῶν καὶ Ἄραβας τοὺς Σκηνίτας μεταγαγὼν καὶ πλησίον ἱδρύσας, ὅπως
5 χρῷτο δι' ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐμπορίαις. βασιλεῖς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτόν, τέσσαρες δέ, οὓς ἀεὶ περὶ αὑτὸν εἶχεν ὥσπερ ὀπαδοὺς ἢ δορυφόρους, ἱππότῃ μὲν ἐλαύνοντι πεζοὺς παραθέοντας ἐν χιτωνίσκοις, καθημένῳ δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι περιεστῶτας ἐπηλλαγμέναις δι' ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, ὅπερ ἐδόκει μάλιστα τῶν σχημάτων ἐξομολόγησις εἶναι δουλείας, οἷον ἀποδομένων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρεχόντων παθεῖν ἑτοιμότερον ἢ ποιῆσαι.

6 Ταύτην μέντοι τὴν τραγῳδίαν οὐχ ὑποτρέσας οὐδ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἄππιος, ὡς ἔτυχε λόγου πρῶτον, ἄντικρυς ἥκειν ἔφη Μιθριδάτην ἀπάξων ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς Λουκούλλου θριάμβοις ἢ καταγγελῶν Τιγράνῃ πόλεμον, ὥστε τὸν Τιγράνην, καίπερ ἐν διαχύσει τοῦ προσώπου καὶ μειδιάματι πεπλασμένῳ πειρώμενον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, μὴ λαθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ἠλλοιωμένον τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου, φωνῆς σχεδὸν ἐλευθέρας ἀκούοντα

grievous to the Greeks. Above all else, the spirit of the king himself had become pompous and haughty in the midst of his great prosperity. All the things which most men covet and admire, he not only had in his possession, but actually thought that they existed for his sake. For though he had started on his career with small and insignificant expectations, he had subdued many nations, humbled the Parthian power as no man before him had done, and filled Mesopotamia with Greeks whom he removed in great numbers from Cilicia and from Cappadocia, and settled anew. He also removed from their wonted haunts the nomadic Arabians, and brought them to an adjacent settlement, that he might employ them in trade and commerce. Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four, whom he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, clad in short blouses, and when he sat transacting business, would stand by with their arms crossed. This attitude was thought to be the plainest confession of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom and offered their persons to their master disposed for suffering rather than for service.

Appius, however, was not frightened or astonished at all this pomp and show, but as soon as he obtained an audience, told the king plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as an ornament due to the triumph of Lucullus, or else to declare war against Tigranes. Although Tigranes made every effort to listen to this speech with a cheerful countenance and a forced smile, he could not hide from the bystanders his discomfiture at the bold words of the young man. It must have been five and twenty

διὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐβασί-
7 λευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὕβρισεν. ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὖν
τῷ Ἀππίῳ μὴ προήσεσθαι Μιθριδάτην, καὶ
Ῥωμαίους πολέμου ἄρχοντας ἀμυνεῖθαι. Λου-
κούλλῳ δ' ὀργιζόμενος, ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτόν,
οὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν,
οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπεν.
ἔπεμψε δὲ δῶρα τῷ Ἀππίῳ λαμπρά, καὶ μὴ λαβόν-
τος ἄλλα πλείω προσέθηκεν. ἐκ τούτων ὁ Ἄππιος
οὐκ ἐθέλων δοκεῖν ἔχθρᾳ τινὶ διωθεῖσθαι φιάλην
δεξάμενος μίαν ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λοιπά, καὶ διὰ
ταχέων ἀπήλαυνε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα.

XXII. Τιγράνης δὲ Μιθριδάτην πρότερον μὲν
οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ προσειπεῖν οἰκεῖον ἄνδρα
βασιλείας ἐκπεπτωκότα τηλικαύτης, ἀλλ' ἀτίμως
καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀπωτάτω περιεῖδεν αὐτὸν τρό-
πον τινὰ φρουρούμενον ἐν χωρίοις ἑλώδεσι καὶ
νοσεροῖς· τότε δὲ σὺν τιμῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ
2 μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ δὴ
λόγων γενομένων ἀπορρήτων τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους 50
ἐθεράπευον ὑποψίας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν φίλων, εἰς
ἐκείνους τὰς αἰτίας τρέποντες. ὧν ἦν καὶ
Μητρόδωρος ὁ Σκήψιος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀηδὴς
καὶ πολυμαθής, ἀκμῇ δὲ φιλίας τοσαύτῃ χρησά-
μενος, ὥστε πατὴρ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ βασι-
3 λέως. τοῦτον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Τιγράνης πεμφθέντα
πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν

years since he had listened to a free speech. That was the length of his reign, or rather, of his wanton tyranny. However, he replied to Appius that he would not surrender Mithridates, and that if the Romans began war, he would defend himself. He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and accordingly, in his reply, would not address Lucullus as Imperator. But he sent splendid gifts to Appius, and when he would not take them, added more besides. Appius finally accepted a single bowl from among them, not wishing his rejection of the king's offers to seem prompted by any personal enmity, but sent back the rest, and marched off with all speed to join the Imperator.

XXII. Up to this time Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor speak to him, though the man was allied to him by marriage, and had been expelled from such a great kingdom. Instead, he had kept him at the farthest remove possible, in disgrace and contumely, and had suffered him to be held a sort of prisoner in marshy and sickly regions. Now, however, he summoned him to his palace with marks of esteem and friendship. There, in secret conference, they strove to allay their mutual suspicions at the expense of their friends, by laying the blame upon them. One of these was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man of agreeable speech and wide learning, who enjoyed the friendship of Mithridates in such a high degree that he was called the king's father. This man, as it seems, had once been sent as an ambassador from Mithridates to Tigranes, with a request for aid against the Romans. On this

δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἤρετο· "Σὺ δ' αὐτός, ὦ Μητρόδωρε, τί μοι περὶ τούτων παραινεῖς;" κἀκεῖνος εἴτε πρὸς τὸ Τιγράνου συμφέρον εἴτε Μιθριδάτην σώζεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, ὡς μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἔφη κελεύειν, ὡς δὲ σύμβουλος ἀπαγορεύειν. ταῦτ' ἐξήνεγκεν ὁ Τιγράνης τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ κατεῖπεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐργασομένῳ τὸν
4 Μητρόδωρον ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἀνῄρητο· καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Τιγράνην εἶχεν, οὐ παντελῶς ὄντα τῷ Μητροδώρῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ ῥοπήν τινα τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθει τοῦ Μιθριδάτου προσθέντα. πάλαι γὰρ ὑπούλως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐφωράθη τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων ἁλόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἀπολέσθαι διατεταγμένον. ἔθαψεν οὖν ὁ Τιγράνης λαμπρῶς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φεισάμενος εἰς νεκρὸν ὃν ζῶντα προὔδωκεν.

5 Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ Ἀμφικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτου μνήμην τινὰ γενέσθαι διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται γὰρ φυγεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τίγριδι, δεομένων δ' αὐτόθι σοφιστεύειν ὑπεριδεῖν καταλαζονευσάμενον, ὡς οὐδὲ λεκάνη δελφῖνα χωροίη, μεταστάντα δὲ πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Μιθριδάτου θυγατέρα, Τιγράνῃ δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἐν διαβολῇ γενέσθαι ταχύ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιμιξίας εἰργόμενον ἀποκαρτερῆσαι· ταφῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐντίμως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας καὶ

occasion Tigranes asked him: "But what is your own advice to me, Metrodorus, in this matter?" Whereupon Metrodorus, either with an eye to the interests of Tigranes, or because he did not wish Mithridates to be saved, said that as an ambassador he urged consent, but as an adviser he forbade it. Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not supposing, when he told him, that he would punish Metrodorus past all healing. But Metrodorus was at once put out of the way. Then Tigranes repented of what he had done, although he was not entirely to blame for the death of Metrodorus. He merely gave an impulse, as it were, to the hatred which Mithridates already had for the man. For he had long been secretly hostile to him, as was seen from his private papers when they were captured, in which there were directions that Metrodorus, as well as others, be put to death. Accordingly, Tigranes gave the body of Metrodorus a splendid burial, sparing no expense upon the man when dead, although he had betrayed him when alive.

Amphicrates, the rhetorician, also lost his life at the court of Tigranes, if, for the sake of Athens, we may make some mention of him too. It is said that when he was exiled from his native city, he went to Seleucia on the Tigris, and that when the citizens asked him to give lectures there, he treated their invitation with contempt, arrogantly remarking that a stewpan could not hold a dolphin. Removing thence, he attached himself to Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, but speedily fell into disfavour, and, being excluded from intercourse with Greeks, starved himself to death. He also received honourable burial at the hands of

κεῖσθαι περὶ Σαφάν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον οὕτω καλούμενον.

XXIII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας, πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληκὼς οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει τὰς πόλεις, αἱ δ' ἀμειβόμεναι Λουκούλλειά τε ἦγον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἡδίονα
2 τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἄππιός τε ἧκε καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐφαίνετο, παρῆλθεν αὖθις εἰς Πόντον, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Σινώπην, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν βασιλικοὺς Κίλικας, οἳ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντες τῶν Σινωπέων, τὴν
3 δὲ πόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες διὰ νυκτὸς ἔφυγον. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀκτακισχιλίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπέδωκε τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὄψιν. ἐδόκει τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἰπεῖν παραστάντα· "Πρόελθε, Λούκουλλε, μικρόν· ἥκει γὰρ
4 Αὐτόλυκος ἐντυχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος." ἐξαναστὰς δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅ τι φέροι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶλε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κιλίκων διώκων ὁρᾷ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνδριάντα κείμενον, ὃν ἐκκομίζοντες οἱ Κίλικες οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἐμβαλέσθαι· τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν Σθένιδος τῶν καλῶν. φράζει οὖν τις, ὡς Αὐτολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἀνδριὰς εἴη.

Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, as a place in those parts is called.

XXIII. Lucullus, after filling Asia full of law and order, and full of peace, did not neglect the things which minister to pleasure and win favour, but during his stay at Ephesus gratified the cities with processions and triumphal festivals and contests of athletes and gladiators. And the cities, in response, celebrated festivals which they called Lucullea, to do honour to the man, and bestowed upon him what is sweeter than honour, their genuine good-will. But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said: "Go forward a little, Lucullus; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you." On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his masterpieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé.

5 Λέγεται δ' ὁ Αὐτόλυκος γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐκ Θετταλίας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάντων, Δηϊμάχου παῖς· ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀποπλέων ἅμα Δημολέοντι καὶ Φλογίῳ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι περιπεσοῦσαν τῆς Χερρονήσου κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Πηδάλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς τὴν Σινώπην ἀφελέσθαι
6 τοὺς Σύρους τὴν πόλιν· Σύροι γὰρ αὐτὴν κατεῖχον ἀπὸ Σύρου γεγονότες τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ Σινώπης τῆς Ἀσωπίδος.

Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνεμιμνήσκετο τῆς Σύλλα παραινέσεως· παρῄνει δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν οὕτως ἀξιόπιστον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ βέβαιον, ὡς ὅ τι ἂν ἀποσημανθῇ διὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων.

7 Πυνθανόμενος δὲ Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς Λυκαονίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ὅσον οὔπω διαβιβάζειν δύναμιν ὡς προτέρους ἐμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐθαύμαζε τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἰ γνώμην ἔχων ἐπιθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀκμάζοντι μὲν οὐκ ἐχρῆτο Μιθριδάτῃ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδ' ἐρρωμένοις τοῖς ἐκείνου τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνῆπτεν, ἀπολέσθαι δ' ἐάσας καὶ συντριβῆναι νῦν ἐπὶ ψυχραῖς ἐλπίσιν ἄρχεται πολέμου τοῖς ἀναστῆναι μὴ δυναμένοις συγκαταβάλλων ἑαυτόν.

XXIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ Μιθριδάτου παῖς ἔχων τὸν Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ στέφανον ἀπὸ χρυσῶν χιλίων, δεόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγραφῆναι φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, ἤδη οἰόμενος τὰ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου πέρας ἔχειν Σωρνάτιον

Now Autolycus is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deïmachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium, in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinopé, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinopé, the daughter of Asopis.

On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams.

Being informed now that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the purpose of invading Asia before war was actually declared, he was amazed that the Armenian, if he cherished the design of attacking the Romans, had not made use of Mithridates for this war when he was at the zenith of his power, nor joined forces with him when he was strong, but had allowed him to be crushed and ruined, and now began a war which offered only faint hopes of success, prostrating himself to the level of those who were unable to stand erect.

XXIV. But when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosporus, sent Lucullus a crown valued at a thousand pieces of gold, begging to be included in the list of Rome's friends and allies, Lucullus decided at once that the first war was finished. He therefore left Sornatius there

μὲν αὐτοῦ φύλακα τῶν Ποντικῶν ἀπέλιπε μετὰ
2 στρατιωτῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους μὲν
ἄγων καὶ δισχιλίους πεζούς, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίων
ἐλάττους, ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐχώρει πόλεμον, ὁρμῇ
τινι δοκῶν παραβόλῳ καὶ σωτήριον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ
λογισμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ
μυριάδας ἱππέων πολλὰς καὶ ἀχανῆ χώραν,
βαθέσι μὲν ποταμοῖς, ἀεὶ δὲ κατανιφομένοις ὄρεσι
3 περιεχομένην, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας οὐδ'
ἄλλως ὄντας εὐτάκτους ἄκοντας ἕπεσθαι καὶ
ζυγομαχοῦντας, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καταβοᾶν καὶ δια-
μαρτύρεσθαι τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὡς πόλεμον ἐκ
πολέμου διώκει Λούκουλλος οὐδὲν τῆς πόλεως
δεομένης, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγῶν μηδέποτε
καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ παύσασθαι χρηματιζό-
4 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν
ἐξειργάσαντο χρόνῳ τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσιν· Λού-
κουλλος δὲ συντόνως ὁδεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην,
καὶ κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ θολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
εὐρών, ἤσχαλλεν, ὡς διατριβῆς αὐτῷ καὶ πραγ-
ματείας ἐσομένης συνάγοντι πορθμεῖα καὶ πηγ-
νυμένῳ σχεδίας. ἀρξάμενον δ' ἀφ' ἑσπέρας
ὑποχωρεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ μειούμενον διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς
ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ κοῖλον παρέσχεν ὀφθῆναι τὸν ποταμόν.
5 οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι νησῖδας ἐν τῷ πόρῳ μικρὰς διαφα-
νείσας θεασάμενοι καὶ τεναγίζοντα τὸν ῥοῦν ἐπ'
αὐταῖς, προσεκύνουν τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὡς ὀλιγάκις
τούτου συμβεβηκότος πρότερον, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἑκου-
σίως χειροήθη καὶ πρᾷον αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ
ποταμοῦ καὶ παρέχοντος ἀπράγμονα καὶ ταχεῖαν
τὴν διάβασιν.

as guardian of Pontus, with six thousand soldiers, while he himself, with twelve thousand footmen and less than three thousand horse, set out for the second war.[1] He seemed to be making a reckless attack, and one which admitted of no saving calculation, upon warlike nations, countless thousands of horsemen, and a boundless region surrounded by deep rivers and mountains covered with perpetual snow. His soldiers, therefore, who were none too well disciplined in any case, followed him reluctantly and rebelliously, while the popular tribunes at Rome raised an outcry against him, and accused him of seeking one war after another, although the city had no need of them, that he might be in perpetual command and never lay down his arms or cease enriching himself from the public dangers. And, in time, these men accomplished their purpose. But Lucullus advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. Here he found the stream swollen and turbid from the winter storms, and was vexed to think of the delay and trouble which it would cost him to collect boats and build rafts. But at evening the stream began to subside, went on diminishing through the night, and at daybreak the river was running between lofty banks. The natives, observing that sundry small islands in the channel had become visible, and that the current near them was quiet, made obeisance to Lucullus, saying that this had seldom happened before, and that the river had voluntarily made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and offered him an easy and speedy passage.

[1] 69 B.C.

6 Χρησάμενος οὖν τῷ καιρῷ διεβίβαζε τὴν στρατιάν· καὶ γίνεται σημεῖον αὐτῷ χρηστὸν ἅμα τῇ διαβάσει. βόες ἱεραὶ νέμονται Περσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου βάρβαροι τιμῶσι· χρῶνται δὲ ταῖς βουσὶ πρὸς θυσίαν μόνον, ἄλλως δὲ πλάζονται κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄφετοι, χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα, καὶ λαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅταν δεηθῶσιν, οὐ πάνυ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ μικρᾶς πραγματείας.
7 τούτων μία, τοῦ στρατοῦ διαβάντος τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐλθοῦσα πρός τινα πέτραν ἱερὰν τῆς θεοῦ νομιζομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστη, καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τὴν κεφαλήν, ὥσπερ αἱ δεσμῷ κατατεινόμεναι, θῦσαι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παρέσχεν αὐτήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ
8 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ταῦρον διαβατήραι. κἀκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ 50
ταῖς ἐφεξῆς προῆγε διὰ τῆς Σωφηνῆς, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσχωροῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δεχομένους τὴν στρατιὰν ἀσμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φρούριόν τι δοκοῦν ἔχειν χρήματα πολλὰ βουλομένων λαβεῖν "Ἐκεῖνο," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον τὸ φρούριον ἡμῖν ἐκκοπτέον ἐστί," δείξας τὸν Ταῦρον ἄπωθεν ὄντα, "ταῦτα δ' ἀπόκειται τοῖς νικῶσι." συντείνας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβὰς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

XXV. Τιγράνῃ δ', ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγείλας ἥκοντα Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἐχαίρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπετέτμητο τὴν κεφαλήν, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔφραζεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶν καθῆστο περικαιόμενος ἤδη τῷ πολεμίῳ

Accordingly, he took advantage of his opportunity and put his troops across, and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and the succeeding days he advanced through Sophené. He wrought no harm to the inhabitants, who came to meet him and received his army gladly. Nay, when his soldiers wanted to take a certain fortress which was thought to contain much wealth, "Yonder lies the fortress which we must rather bring low," said he, pointing to the Taurus in the distance; "these nearer things are reserved for the victors." Then he went on by forced marches, crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

XXV. Since the first messenger who told Tigranes that Lucullus was coming had his head cut off for his pains, no one else would tell him anything, and so he sat in ignorance while the fires of war were already blazing around him, giving ear only to those

πυρί, λόγους ἀκούων πρὸς χάριν, ὡς μέγαν ὄντα Λούκουλλον στρατηγόν, εἰ πρὸς Ἐφέσῳ Τιγράνην ὑποσταίη καὶ μὴ φεύγων εὐθὺς ἐξ Ἀσίας οἴχοιτο
2 τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἰδών. οὔτως οὔτε σώματος παντός ἐστι πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐνεγκεῖν οὔτε διανοίας τῆς τυχούσης ἐν εὐτυχήμασι μεγάλοις μὴ ἐκστῆναι τῶν λογισμῶν. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐτόλμησε Μιθροβαρζάνης φράσαι τὸ ἀληθές. οὐδ' οὗτος δὲ χρηστὸν ἠνέγκατο γέρας τῆς παρρησίας. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον σὺν ἱππεῦσι τρισχιλίοις, πεζοῖς δὲ παμπόλλοις, κελευσθεὶς τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν ἄγειν ζῶντα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταπατῆσαι.

3 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡ μὲν ἤδη κατεζεύγνυεν, ἡ δὲ ἔτι προσῄει. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν αὐτῷ φρασάντων ἐπελαύνοντα τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔδεισε μὴ χωρὶς ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει προσπεσὼν ταράξῃ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καθίστατο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, Σεξτίλιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς ἔχοντα χιλίους ἑξακοσίους, ὁπλίτας δὲ καὶ ψιλοὺς οὐ
4 πολλῷ πλείονας, κελεύσας ἐγγὺς προσελθόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις μένειν, ἕως ἂν πύθηται τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδευκότας. ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεξτίλιος ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐβιάσθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθροβαρζάνου θρασέως ἐπελαύνοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν. καὶ γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Μιθροβαρζάνης ἔπεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες.

5 Ἐκ τούτου Τιγράνης μὲν ἐκλιπὼν Τιγρανόκερτα, μεγάλην πόλιν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,

who flattered him and said that Lucullus would be a great general if he ventured to withstand Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not fly incontinently from Asia at the mere sight of so many myriads of men. Which only proves that it is not every man who can bear much unmixed wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that does not lose its reckoning in the midst of great prosperity. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he, too, got no very excellent reward for his boldness of speech. He was sent at once against Lucullus with three thousand horsemen and a large force of infantry, under orders to bring the general alive, but to trample his men under foot.

Now, part of the army of Lucullus was already preparing to go into camp, and the rest was still coming up, when his scouts told him that the Barbarian was advancing to the attack. Fearing lest the enemy attack his men when they were separated and in disorder, and so throw them into confusion, he himself fell to arranging the encampment, and Sextilius, the legate, was sent at the head of sixteen hundred horsemen and about as many light and heavy infantry, with orders to get near the enemy and wait there until he learned that the main body was safely encamped. Well then, this was what Sextilius wished to do, but he was forced into an engagement by Mithrobarzanes, who boldly charged upon him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting, and the rest of his forces took to flight and were cut to pieces, all except a few.

Upon this, Tigranes abandoned Tigranocerta, that great city which he had built, withdrew to the

πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις πανταχόθεν ἐνταῦθα συνῆγε, Λούκουλλος δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ χρόνον οὐ διδοὺς Μουρήναν μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐνοχλήσοντα καὶ περικόψοντα τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην, Σεξτίλιον δὲ πάλιν Ἀράβων χεῖρα μεγάλην ἀνείρξοντα βασιλεῖ
6 προσιοῦσαν. ὁμοῦ δὲ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἐπιπεσὼν στρατόπεδον ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἄραψι τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειρε, Μουρήνας δ' ἑπόμενος Τιγράνῃ τραχὺν αὐλῶνα καὶ στενόπορον στρατῷ μακρῷ διεκβάλλοντι καιροῦ παρασχόντος ἐπιτίθεται. καὶ φεύγει μὲν αὐτὸς Τιγράνης προέμενος τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πλείονες ἁλίσκονται τῶν Ἀρμενίων.

XXVI. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προχωρούντων ἄρας ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ περιστρατοπεδεύσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλληνες τῶν ἀναστάτων ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὶ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅμοια πεπονθότες, Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Γορδυηνοὶ καὶ Καππάδοκες, ὧν κατασκάψας τὰς πατρίδας, αὐτοὺς δὲ κομίσας ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν
2 ἠνάγκασεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἡ πόλις μεστὴ καὶ ἀναθημάτων, παντὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ δυνάστου τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφιλοτιμουμένου πρὸς αὔξησιν καὶ κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως. διὸ καὶ συντόνως ἐπολιόρκει ὁ Λούκουλλος αὐτήν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ' ὀργῆς καταβήσεσθαι διαμαχούμενον, ὀρθῶς οἰό-
3 μενος. πολλὰ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπηγόρευσεν ἀγγέλους πέμπων καὶ γράμματα μὴ συνάπτειν μάχην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι περικόπτειν τὴν ἀγοράν·

Taurus, and there began collecting his forces from every quarter. Lucullus, however, gave him no time for preparation, but sent out Murena to harass and cut off the forces gathering to join Tigranes, and Sextilius again to hold in check a large body of Arabs which was drawing near the king. At one and the same time Sextilius fell upon the Arabs as they were going into camp, and slew most of them; and Murena, following hard upon Tigranes, seized his opportunity and attacked the king as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in long column. Tigranes himself fled, abandoning all his baggage, many of the Armenians were slain, and more were captured.

XXVI. Thus successful in his campaign, Lucullus struck camp and proceeded to Tigranocerta, which city he invested and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks,—Adiabeni, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion. The city was also full of wealth and votive offerings, since every private person and every prince vied with the king in contributing to its increase and adornment. Therefore Lucullus pressed the siege of the city with vigour, in the belief that Tigranes would not endure it, but contrary to his better judgment and in anger would descend into the plains to offer battle; and his belief was justified. Mithridates, indeed, both by messengers and letters, strongly urged the king not to join battle, but to cut off the enemy's supplies

πολλὰ δὲ Ταξίλης ἥκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συστρα- 50
τεύων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως φυλάττεσθαι καὶ
φεύγειν ὡς ἄμαχον πρᾶγμα τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα.
4 καὶ τά γε πρῶτα πρᾴως ἤκουε τούτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πανστρατιᾷ μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆλθον Ἀρμένιοι καὶ
Γορδυηνοί, πανστρατιᾷ δὲ Μήδους καὶ Ἀδιαβη-
νοὺς ἄγοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς παρῆσαν, ἧκον δὲ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαλάσσης Ἄραβες,
πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες
Ἀλβανοῖς προσοικοῦντες, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἀράξην νεμομένων ἀβασίλευτοι χάριτι καὶ
δώροις πεισθέντες ἀπήντησαν, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ
θράσους καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἀπειλῶν μεστὰ μὲν ἦν
τὰ συμπόσια τοῦ βασιλέως, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ συμ-
βούλια, παρεκινδύνευσε μὲν ὁ Ταξίλης ἀποθανεῖν
ὑπεναντιούμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς μάχης, ἐδόκει δὲ
καὶ Μιθριδάτης φθονῶν ἀποτρέπειν μεγάλου
5 κατορθώματος. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Τιγράνης, μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς δόξης, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ σφόδρα δυσφορῶν, ὡς λέγεται,
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὅτι πρὸς Λούκουλλον αὐτῷ μό-
νον, οὐ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίων στρατηγοὺς ἐν ταὐτῷ γενομένους.

Καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἦν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῦ μανιῶδες
οὐδ' ἄλογον, ἔθνη τοσαῦτα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπομένους
καὶ φάλαγγας ὁπλιτῶν καὶ μυριάδας ἱππέων ἀπο-
6 βλέποντος. τοξότας μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφενδονήτας δισ-
μυρίους ἦγεν, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισμυρίους καὶ πεν-
τακισχιλίους, ὧν ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι κατά-
φρακτοι ἦσαν, ὡς Λούκουλλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον, ὁπλιτῶν δέ, τῶν μὲν εἰς σπείρας, τῶν

with his cavalry; Taxiles also, who came from Mithridates and joined the forces of Tigranes, earnestly begged the king to remain on the defensive and avoid the invincible arms of the Romans. And at first Tigranes gave considerate hearing to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyeni joined him with all their hosts, and the kings of the Medes and Adiabeni came up with all their hosts, and many Arabs arrived from the sea of Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian sea, together with Iberians who were neighbours to the Albanians; and when not a few of the peoples about the river Araxes, who are not subject to kings, had been induced by favours and gifts to come and join him; and when the banquets of the king, and his councils as well, were full of hopes and boldness and barbaric threats,—then Taxiles ran the risk of being put to death when he opposed the plan of fighting, and Mithridates was thought to be diverting the king from a great success out of mere envy. Wherefore Tigranes would not even wait for him, lest he share in the glory, but advanced with all his army, bitterly lamenting to his friends, as it is said, that he was going to contend with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals put together.

And his boldness was not altogether that of a mad man, nor without good reason, when he saw so many nations and kings in his following, with phalanxes of heavy infantry and myriads of horsemen. For he was in command of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clad in mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the Senate; also of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy infantry,

δ' εἰς φάλαγγας συντεταγμένων, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὁδοποιοὺς δὲ καὶ γεφυρωτὰς καὶ καθαρτὰς ποταμῶν καὶ ὑλοτόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ὑπηρέτας τρισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἳ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι κατόπιν ὄψιν ἅμα καὶ ῥώμην παρεῖχον.

XXVII. Ὡς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἄθρους κατεφάνη καὶ κατεῖδε πρὸς τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις ἐπικαθήμενον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει βάρβαρος ὅμιλος ὀλολυγῇ καὶ κρότῳ τὴν ὄψιν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐδείκνυσαν τοὺς
2 Ἀρμενίους· Λουκούλλῳ δὲ σκοποῦντι περὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἐάσαντα τὴν πολιορκίαν συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὀπίσω πολεμίους τοσούτους μηδ' ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ἑκατέρους μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καλῶς παραινεῖν διεῖλε τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Μουρήναν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντα πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ἐν αἷς οὐ πλείονες ἦσαν μυρίων ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας περὶ χιλίους, ἐχώρει.
3 Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παντάπασι μικρὸς ἐφάνη Τιγράνῃ, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν διατριβὴν παρεῖχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔσκωπτον, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν λαφύρων ἐν παιδιᾷ διεβάλλοντο κλῆρον· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἕκαστος ᾐτεῖτο προσιὼν αὐτοῦ μόνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἐκεῖνον

some of whom were drawn up in cohorts, and some in phalanxes; also of road-makers, bridge-builders, clearers of rivers, foresters, and ministers to the other needs of an army, to the number of thirty-five thousand. These latter, being drawn up in array behind the fighting men, increased the apparent strength of the army.

XXVII. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, deployed with all his forces, and looked down upon the Roman army investing Tigranocerta, the throng of Barbarians in the city greeted his appearance with shouts and din, and standing on the walls, threateningly pointed out the Armenians to the Romans. When Lucullus held a council of war, some of his officers advised him to give up the siege and lead his army against Tigranes; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, and not to remit the siege. Whereupon, remarking that each counsel by itself was bad, but both together were good, he divided his army. Murena, with six thousand footmen, he left behind in charge of the siege; while he himself, with twenty-four cohorts, comprising no more than ten thousand heavy infantry, and all the horsemen, slingers, and archers, to the number of about a thousand, set out against the enemy.

When he had encamped along the river in a great plain, he appeared utterly insignificant to Tigranes, and supplied the king's flatterers with ground for amusement. Some mocked at the Romans, and others, in pleasantry, cast lots for their spoil, while each of the generals and kings came forward and begged that the task of conquering them might be entrusted to himself alone, and that the

4 δὲ καθέζεσθαι θεατήν. βουλόμενος δέ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης χαρίεις εἶναι καὶ σκωπτικὸς εἶπε τὸ θρυλούμενον· "Εἰ μὲν ὡς πρεσβευταί, πολλοὶ πάρεισιν· εἰ δ' ὡς στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι." καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως εἰρωνευόμενοι καὶ παίζοντες διετέλεσαν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Λούκουλλος ὡπλισμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγε. καὶ πρὸς ἕω μὲν 51
ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα· τοῦ δὲ ῥεύματος ἀποστροφὴν λαμβάνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς δύσεις, ᾗ μάλιστα περάσιμον ἦν, ἀντιπαρεξάγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σπεύδων ἔδοξεν ἀποχωρεῖν
5 τῷ Τιγράνῃ. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ταξίλην ἅμα γέλωτι "Τοὺς ἀμάχους," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων ὁπλίτας οὐχ ὁρᾷς φεύγοντας;" καὶ ὁ Ταξίλης "Βουλοίμην ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, γενέσθαι τι τῷ σῷ δαίμονι τῶν παραλόγων, ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν οἱ ἄνδρες λαμβάνουσιν ὁδοιποροῦντες οὔτε θυρεοῖς ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις χρῶνται καὶ κράνεσι γυμνοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν τὰ σκύτινα τῶν ὅπλων σκεπάσματα περισπάσαντες, ἀλλὰ μαχουμένων ἐστὶν ἡ λαμπρότης αὕτη καὶ βαδιζόντων ἤδη
6 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους." ταῦτα λέγοντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταξίλου καταφανὴς ἦν πρῶτος ἀετὸς ἐπιστρέφοντος τοῦ Λουκούλλου καὶ τάξιν αἱ σπεῖραι κατὰ λόχους λαμβάνουσαι πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ μόλις ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὸς ἀναφέρων ὁ Τιγράνης δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἐξέκραγεν· "Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄνδρες;" ὥστε θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν τῷ Ἀδιαβηνῷ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ Μήδῳ παραδόντος,

king would sit by as a spectator. Then Tigranes, not wishing to be left behind entirely in this play of wit and scoffing, uttered that famous saying: "If they are come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few." And so for the while they continued their sarcasms and jests. But at daybreak Lucullus led out his forces under arms. Now, the Barbarian army lay to the east of the river. But as the stream takes a turn to the west at the point where it was easiest to ford, and as Lucullus led his troops to the attack in that direction first, and with speed, he seemed to Tigranes to be retreating. So he called Taxiles and said, with a laugh, "Don't you see that the invincible Roman hoplites are taking to flight?" "O King," said Taxiles, "I could wish that some marvellous thing might fall to your good fortune; but when these men are merely on a march, they do not put on shining raiment, nor have they their shields polished and their helmets uncovered, as now that they have stripped the leathern coverings from their armour. Nay, this splendour means that they are going to fight, and are now advancing upon their enemies." While Taxiles was yet speaking, the first eagle came in sight, as Lucullus wheeled towards the river, and the cohorts were seen forming in maniples with a view to crossing. Then at last, as though coming out of a drunken stupor, Tigranes cried out two or three times, "Are the men coming against us?" And so, with much tumult and confusion, his multitude formed in battle array, the king himself occupying the centre, and assigning the left wing to the king of the Adiabeni, the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this wing also

ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῶν καταφράκτων ἐν προτάγματι τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν.

7 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔνιοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρῄνουν φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν μίαν οὖσαν τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἃς μελαίνας καλοῦσιν· ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπώλετο στρατιὰ συμβαλοῦσα Κίμβροις. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μνημονευομένην φωνήν· "Ἐγὼ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ ταύτην εὐτυχῆ ποιήσω Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡμέραν." ἦν δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.

XXVIII. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας τόν τε ποταμὸν διέβαινε καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγεῖτο, θώρακα μὲν ἔχων σιδηροῦν φολιδωτὸν ἀποστίλβοντα, κροσσωτὴν δὲ ἐφεστρίδα, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτόθεν ὑποφαίνων γυμνόν, ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἴεσθαι δέον[1] ἐκηβόλοις ἀνδράσι καὶ συναιρεῖν[2] τὴν διατοξεύσιμον χώραν τῷ
2 τάχει τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάφρακτον ἵππον, ἧς πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος, κατεῖδε κατατεταγμένην ὑπὸ λόφῳ τινὶ τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπίπεδον καὶ πλατεῖαν ἔχοντι, πρόσβασιν δὲ τεττάρων σταδίων οὐ παντάπασι χαλεπὴν οὐδ' ἀποκεκομμένην, Θρᾷκας μὲν ἱππεῖς καὶ Γαλάτας, οὓς εἶχεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ πλαγίου προσφερομένους παρακρούε-
3 σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις τοὺς κοντούς. μία γὰρ ἀλκὴ τῶν καταφράκτων κοντός· ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν οὔθ' ἑαυτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι δύνανται διὰ

[1] δέον Coraës, Sintenis and Bekker, after Reiske; δέοι MSS., including S.

[2] συναιρεῖν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske; συναίρησειν (S) and συναιρήσει MSS.: συναιρήσων, a suggestion of Reiske's.

the greater part of the mail-clad horsemen were drawn up.

As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of his officers advised him to beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days—the Romans call them "black days." For on that day Caepio and his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri.[1] But Lucullus answered with the memorable words: "Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for the Romans." Now the day was the sixth of October.

XXVIII. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good courage, he crossed the river, and led the way in person against the enemy. He wore a steel breastplate of glittering scales, and a tasselled cloak, and at once let his sword flash forth from its scabbard, indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with men who fought with long range missiles, and eliminate, by the rapidity of their onset, the space in which archery would be effective. But when he saw that the mail-clad horsemen, on whom the greatest reliance was placed, were stationed at the foot of a considerable hill which was crowned by a broad and level space, and that the approach to this was a matter of only four stadia, and neither rough nor steep, he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank, and to parry their long spears with their own short swords. (Now the sole resource of the mail-clad horsemen is their long spear, and they

[1] B.C. 105. Cf. *Camillus*, xix. 7.

βάρος καὶ σκληρότητα τῆς σκευῆς, ἀλλ' ἐγκατῳ-
κοδομημένοις ἐοίκασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ δύο σπείρας
ἀναλαβὼν ἡμιλλᾶτο πρὸς τὸν λόφον, ἐρρωμένως
ἑπομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὸ κἀκεῖνον ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις ὁρᾶν πρῶτον κακοπαθοῦντα πεζὸν καὶ
προσβιαζόμενον. γενόμενος δ' ἄνω καὶ στὰς ἐν
τῷ περιφανεῖ τοῦ χωρίου μέγα βοήσας "Νενικήκαμεν," ἔφη, "νενικήκαμεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται."
4 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐπῆγε τοῖς καταφράκτοις,
κελεύσας μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκ
χειρὸς ἕκαστον διαλαβόντα παίειν τῶν πολεμίων
κνήμας τε καὶ μηρούς, ἃ μόνα γυμνὰ τῶν καταφράκτων ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ τι ταύτης τῆς
μάχης· οὐ γὰρ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλ'
ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ φεύγοντες αἴσχιστα πάντων
ἐνέωσαν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους βαρεῖς ὄντας
εἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὅπλα πρὶν ἄρξασθαί τινος
ἐκείνους μάχης, ὥστε μήτε τραύματος γενομένου
μήθ' αἵματος ὀφθέντος ἡττᾶσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας
5 μυριάδας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς φόνος ἤδη φευγόντων
ἐγίνετο, μᾶλλον δὲ βουλομένων φεύγειν· οὐ γὰρ 5
ἐδύναντο πυκνότητι καὶ βάθει τῶν τάξεων ὑφ'
αὑτῶν ἐμποδιζόμενοι. Τιγράνης δ' ἐξελάσας ἐν
ἀρχῇ μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφευγε· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁρῶν
κοινωνοῦντα τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης περιεσπάσατο τὸ
διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς κἀκείνῳ δακρύσας παρέδωκε,
σώζειν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δύναται, καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς
6 κελεύσας. ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἀναδήσασθαι μὲν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησε, τῶν δὲ παίδων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ φυλάτ-

have none other whatsoever, either in defending themselves or attacking their enemies, owing to the weight and rigidity of their armour; in this they are, as it were, immured.) Then he himself, with two cohorts, hastened eagerly towards the hill, his soldiers following with all their might, because they saw him ahead of them in armour, enduring all the fatigue of a foot-soldier, and pressing his way along. Arrived at the top, and standing in the most conspicuous spot, he cried with a loud voice, "The day is ours, the day is ours, my fellow soldiers!" With these words, he led his men against the mail-clad horsemen, ordering them not to hurl their javelins yet, but taking each his own man, to smite the enemy's legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mail-clad horsemen left exposed. However, there was no need of this mode of fighting, for the enemy did not await the Romans, but, with loud cries and in most disgraceful flight, they hurled themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon the ranks of their own infantry, before it had so much as begun to fight, and so all those tens of thousands were defeated without the infliction of a wound or the sight of blood. But the great slaughter began at once when they fled, or rather tried to fly, for they were prevented from really doing so by the closeness and depth of their own ranks. Tigranes rode away at the very outset with a few attendants, and took to flight. Seeing his son also in the same plight, he took off the diadem from his head and, in tears, gave it to him, bidding him save himself as best he could by another route. The young man, however, did not venture to assume the diadem, but gave it to his most trusted slave for safe keeping.

τειν ἔδωκεν. οὗτος ἁλοὺς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Λούκουλλον, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμάλωτον καὶ τὸ διάδημα γενέσθαι τοῦ Τιγράνου. λέγεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας διαφθαρῆναι, τῶν δ' ἱππέων ὀλίγους παντάπασι διαφυγεῖν. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἑκατὸν ἐτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ πέντε.

7 Ταύτης τῆς μάχης Ἀντίοχος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Περὶ θεῶν γραφῇ μνησθεὶς οὔ φησιν ἄλλην ἐφεωρακέναι τοιαύτην τὸν ἥλιον. Στράβων δ', ἕτερος φιλόσοφος, ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοὺς λέγει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ καταγελᾶν ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράποδα τοιαῦτα δεηθέντας ὅπλων. Λιούϊος δ' εἴρηκεν, ὡς οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμίοις ἀποδέοντες τοσούτῳ πλήθει παρετάξαντο· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰκοστόν, ἀλλ' ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο μέρος οἱ νικῶντες τῶν ἡσση-
8 μένων. Ῥωμαίων δ' οἱ δεινότατοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ πλεῖστα πολέμοις ὡμιληκότες ἐπῄνουν μάλιστα τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὸ δύο βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ μεγίστους δυσὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις, τάχει καὶ βραδυτῆτι, καταστρατηγῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν γὰρ ἀκμάζοντα χρόνῳ καὶ τριβῇ κατανάλωσε, Τιγράνην δὲ τῷ σπεῦσαι συνέτριψεν, ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πώποτε ἡγεμόνων τῇ μελλήσει μὲν ἔργῳ, τῇ τόλμῃ δ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας χρησάμενος.

XXIX. Διὸ καὶ Μιθριδάτης οὐ συνέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, τῇ συνήθει τὸν Λούκουλλον εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ παραγωγῇ πολεμήσειν οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐντυχὼν καθ'

This slave happened to be captured, and was brought to Lucullus, and thus even the diadem of Tigranes became a part of the booty. It is said that more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's infantry perished, while of the cavalry only a few, all told, made their escape. Of the Romans, on the other hand, only a hundred were wounded, and only five killed.

Antiochus the philosopher makes mention of this battle in his treatise "Concerning Gods," and says that the sun never looked down on such another. And Strabo, another philosopher, in his "Historical Commentaries," says that the Romans themselves were ashamed, and laughed one another to scorn for requiring arms against such slaves. Livy also has remarked that the Romans were never in such inferior numbers when they faced an enemy; for the victors were hardly even a twentieth part of the vanquished, but less than this. The Roman generals who were most capable and most experienced in war, praised Lucullus especially for this, that he outgeneralled two kings who were most distinguished and powerful by two most opposite tactics, speed and slowness. For he used up Mithridates, at the height of his power, by long delays; but crushed Tigranes by the speed of his operations, being one of the few generals of all time to use delay for greater achievement, and boldness for greater safety.

XXIX. This was the reason why Mithridates made no haste to be at the battle. He thought Lucullus would carry on the war with his wonted caution and indirectness, and so marched slowly to join Tigranes. At first he met a few Armenians hurrying back over the road in panic fear, and conjectured what had

ὁδὸν ἐπτοιημένοις καὶ περιφόβοις ἀπιοῦσιν εἴκασε τὸ πάθος, εἶτ' ἤδη πλειόνων γυμνῶν καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπαντώντων πυθόμενος τὴν ἥτταν ἐζήτει
2 τὸν Τιγράνην. εὑρὼν δὲ πάντων ἔρημον καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐκ ἀνθύβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ συνδακρύσας τὰ κοινὰ πάθη θεραπείαν τε τὴν ἑπομένην αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἔδωκε καὶ κατεθάρρυνε πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν αὖθις ἑτέρας δυνάμεις συνῆγον.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους στασιασάντων καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντων προσβα-
3 λὼν εἷλε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει θησαυροὺς παρελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διαρπάσαι παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὀκτακοσίας δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα
4 διένειμεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων. πυνθανόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλῆφθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, οὓς ὁ Τιγράνης πανταχόθεν ἠθροίκει μέλλων ἀποδεικνύναι τὸ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θέατρον, ἐχρήσατο τούτοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν ἐπινικίων. τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἔπεμψε προσθεὶς ἐφόδια, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοίως τοὺς ἠναγκασμένους κατοικεῖν, ὥστε συνέβη μιᾶς πόλεως διαλυθείσης πολλὰς ἀνοικίζεσθαι πάλιν κομιζομένας τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας, ὑφ' ὧν ὡς εὐεργέτης ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ κτίστης ἠγαπᾶτο.
5 Προὐχώρει δὲ καὶ τἆλλα κατ' ἀξίαν τἀνδρὶ 5
τῶν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπαίνων

happened; then presently, when he had learned of the defeat from more unarmed and wounded fugitives whom he met, he sought to find Tigranes. And though he found him destitute of all things and humiliated, he did not return his insolent behaviour, but got down from his horse and wept with him over their common sufferings. Then he gave him his own royal equipage, and tried to fill him with courage for the future. And so these kings began again to assemble fresh forces.

But in the city of Tigranocerta, the Greeks had risen up against the Barbarians and were ready to hand the city over to Lucullus; so he assaulted and took it. The royal treasures in the city he took into his own charge, but the city itself he turned over to his soldiers for plunder, and it contained eight thousand talents in money, together with the usual valuables. Besides this, he gave to each man eight hundred drachmas from the general spoils. On learning that many dramatic artists had been captured in the city, whom Tigranes had collected there from all quarters for the formal dedication of the theatre which he had built, Lucullus employed them for the contests and spectacles with which he celebrated his victories. The Greeks he sent to their native cities, giving them also the means wherewith to make the journey, and likewise the Barbarians who had been compelled to settle there. Thus it came to pass that the dissolution of one city was the restoration of many others, by reason of their recovering their own inhabitants, and they all loved Lucullus as their benefactor and founder.

And whatever else he did also prospered, in a way worthy of the man, who was ambitious of the

ὀρεγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ἡ τύχη μετεῖχε, ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡμέρου ψυχῆς καὶ πεπαιδευμένης ἐπίδειξις, οἷς ὁ Λούκουλλος τότε χωρὶς ὅπλων ἐχειροῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γὰρ Ἀράβων βασιλεῖς ἧκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὰ σφέτερα, καὶ τὸ
6 Σωφηνῶν ἔθνος προσεχώρει· τὸ δὲ Γορδυηνῶν οὕτω διέθηκεν, ὥστε βούλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐθελοντὰς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Ζαρβιηνὸς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γορδυηνῶν βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, δι' Ἀππίου κρύφα Λουκούλλῳ διείλεκτο περὶ συμμαχίας τὴν Τιγράνου τυραννίδα βαρυνόμενος· μηνυθεὶς δ' ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ συναπώλοντο πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους εἰς Ἀρμενίαν
7 ἐμβαλεῖν. τούτων οὐκ ἠμνημόνησεν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Γορδυηνῶν ταφὰς προὔθετο τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ, καὶ πυρὰν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Τιγράνου κοσμήσας λαφύροις αὐτὸς παρὼν ὑφῆψε, καὶ χοὰς ἐπήνεγκε μετὰ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἑταῖρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἀνακαλούμενος.
8 ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων συχνῶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ εὑρέθη, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ βασιλείοις, σίτου δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες τριακόσιαι μεδίμνων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον θαυμάζεσθαι, ὅτι δραχμὴν μίαν ἐκ

praise that is consequent upon righteousness and humanity, rather than of that which follows military successes. For the latter, the army also was in no slight degree, and fortune in the highest degree, responsible ; but the former were the manifestations of a gentle and disciplined spirit, and in the exercise of these qualities Lucullus now, without appeal to arms, subdued the Barbarians. The kings of the Arabs came to him, with proffers of their possessions, and the Sophèni joined his cause. The Gordyeni were so affected by his kindness that they were ready to abandon their cities and follow him with their wives and children, in voluntary service. The reason for this was as follows. Zarbienus, the king of the Gordyeni, as has been said,[1] secretly stipulated with Lucullus, through Appius, for an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes. He was informed against, however, and put to death, and his wife and children perished with him, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus was not unmindful of all this, but on entering the country of the Gordyeni, appointed funeral rites in honour of Zarbienus, and after adorning a pyre with royal raiment and gold and with the spoils taken from Tigranes, set fire to it with his own hand, and joined the friends and kindred of the man in pouring ilbations upon it, calling him a comrade of his and an ally of the Romans. He also ordered that a monument be erected to his memory at great cost; for many treasures were found in the palace of Zarbienus, including gold and silver, and three million bushels of grain were stored up there, so that the soldiers were plentifully supplied, and Lucullus was admired

[1] xxi. 2.

τοῦ δημοσίου ταμιείου μὴ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διώκει τὸν πόλεμον.

XXX. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως ἧκε πρεσβεία παρ' αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν προκαλουμένου καὶ συμμαχίαν. ἦν δ' ἀσμένῳ ταῦτα τῷ Λουκούλλῳ· καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπεμψε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον, οἳ κατεφώρασαν αὐτὸν ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ μισθὸν αἰτοῦντα κρύφα τοῦ συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ
2 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ᾔσθετο, Τιγράνην μὲν ἔγνω καὶ Μιθριδάτην παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειρηκότας, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι δὲ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καλὸν ἡγούμενος μιᾷ ῥύμῃ πολέμου τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς βασιλεῖς καταπαλαῖσαι καὶ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἀήττητος καὶ νικῶν διεξελθεῖν.

3 Ἔπεμψεν οὖν εἰς Πόντον τοῖς περὶ Σωρνάτιον ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιστείλας ἄγειν τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιὰν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Γορδυηνῆς ἀναβησόμενος. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι καὶ δυσπειθέσι τοῖς στρατιώταις τότε παντελῶς ἀπεκάλυψαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκολασίαν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ πειθοῦς οὐδ' ἀνάγκης εὑρόμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι μαρτυρομένους καὶ βοῶντας, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτόθι μενοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἰχήσονται τὸν Πόντον ἔρημον
4 ἀπολιπόντες. ταῦτα πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἀπαγγελθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσδιέφθειρε στρατιώτας, ἤδη μὲν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς βαρεῖς γεγονότας πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ σχολῆς δεομένους, ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπύθοντο παρρησίαν,

for not taking a single drachma from the public treasury, but making the war pay for itself.

XXX. Here he received an embassy from the king of the Parthians also, inviting him into friendly alliance. This was agreeable to Lucullus, and in his turn he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, but they discovered that he was playing a double game, and secretly asking for Mesopotamia as reward for an alliance with Tigranes. Accordingly, when Lucullus was apprised of this, he determined to ignore Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted antagonists, and to make trial of the Parthian power by marching against them, thinking it a glorious thing, in a single impetuous onset of war, to throw, like an athlete, three kings in succession, and to make his way, unvanquished and victorious, through three of the greatest empires under the sun.

Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and his fellow commanders in Pontus to bring the army there to him, as he intended to proceed eastward from Gordyené. These officers had already found their soldiers unmanageable and disobedient, but now they discovered that they were utterly beyond control, being unable to move them by any manner of persuasion or compulsion. Nay, they roundly swore that they would not even stay where they were, but would go off and leave Pontus undefended. When news of this was brought to Lucullus, it demoralised his soldiers there also. Their wealth and luxurious life had already made them averse to military service and desirous of leisure, and when they heard of the bold words of their comrades in Pontus, they called them brave men, and said

ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλουν καὶ μιμητέον αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄξια σωτηρίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως κατειργάσθαι.

XXXI. Τοιούτων δὲ καὶ πονηροτέρων ἔτι λόγων αἰσθόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν ἀφῆκεν, αὖθις δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐβάδιζε θέρους ἀκμάζοντος. καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν ἠθύμησε χλωρῶν τῶν πεδίων ἐκφανέντων· τοσοῦτον αἱ ὧραι διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ ἀέρος
2 ὑστερίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ δὶς 513
ἢ τρὶς ἀνατολμήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τρεψάμενος ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὰς κώμας, καὶ τὸν παρεσκευασμένον τῷ Τιγράνῃ σῖτον ἐξαιρῶν ἣν αὐτὸς ἐφοβεῖτο τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέστησεν ἀπορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαλούμενος εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς περιταφρεύων τὸν χάρακα καὶ πορθῶν ἐν ὄψει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐκίνει πεπληγότας πολλάκις, ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' Ἀρτάξατα τὸ Τιγράνου βασίλειον, ὅπου καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ νήπιοι καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτα προήσεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην.

3 Λέγεται δ' Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, Ἀντιόχου καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μεταβάντα πρὸς Ἀρτάξαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἄλλων τε πολλῶν εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρησίμων, καὶ τῆς χώρας καταμαθόντα τόπον εὐφυέστατον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀργοῦντα καὶ παρορώμενον σχῆμα πόλεως ἐν αὐτῷ προϋπογράψασθαι, καὶ

their example must be followed in Gordyené, for their many achievements entitled them to respite from toil and freedom from danger.

XXXI. Such speeches, and even worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up his expedition against the Parthians, and marched once more against Tigranes,[1] it being now the height of summer. And yet, after crossing the Taurus, he was discouraged to find the plains still covered with unripe grain, so much later are the seasons there, owing to the coolness of the atmosphere. However, he descended from the mountains, routed the Armenians who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, and then plundered their villages without fear, and, by taking away the grain which had been stored up for Tigranes, reduced his enemy to the straits which he had been fearing for himself. Then he challenged them to battle by encompassing their camp with a moat, and by ravaging their territory before their eyes; but this did not move them, so often had they been defeated. He therefore broke camp and marched against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where were his wives and young children, thinking that Tigranes would not give these up without fighting.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been conquered by the Romans, left him and went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whom he gave many excellent suggestions and instructions. For instance, observing that a section of the country which had the greatest natural advantages and attractions was lying idle and neglected, he drew up a plan for a city there, and then brought Artaxas

[1] 68 B.C.

τὸν Ἀρτάξαν ἐπαγαγόντα δεῖξαι καὶ παρορμῆσαι
4 πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμόν. ἡσθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δεηθέντος, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπιστατήσῃ τοῦ ἔργου, μέγα τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα πόλεως ἀναστῆναι, καὶ γενομένην ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως μητρόπολιν ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

Ἐπὶ ταύτην τοῦ Λουκούλλου βαδίζοντος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο Τιγράνης, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ παρεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀρσανίαν ποταμόν, ὃν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαβατέον ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐπ'
5 Ἀρταξάτων πορευομένοις. θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς Λούκουλλος, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης τῆς νίκης, διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προτεταγμέναις, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπιτεταγμέναις πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις τῶν πολεμίων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς καὶ λογάδες ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι, πρὸ δ' αὐτῶν ἱπποτοξόται Μάρδοι καὶ λογχοφόροι Ἴβηρες, οἷς μάλιστα τῶν ξένων ὁ Τιγράνης
6 ἐπίστευεν ὡς μαχιμωτάτοις. οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη τι λαμπρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαπληκτισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρωσε τῆς φυγῆς σχισθέντες ἐπεσπάσαντο τοὺς ἱππεῖς πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους διασπαρῆναι τῶν περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐξιππασαμένων ἰδὼν τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔδεισε.
7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκαλεῖτο, πρῶτος δ' αὐτὸς ἀντέστη τοῖς Ἀτροπατηνοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν οὖσι μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν φοβήσας ἐτρέψατο. τριῶν δ' ὁμοῦ παρα-

to the place and showed him its possibilities, and urged him to undertake the building. The king was delighted, and begged Hannibal to superintend the work himself, whereupon a very great and beautiful city arose there, which was named after the king, and proclaimed the capital of Armenia.

When Lucullus marched against this city, Tigranes could not suffer it quietly, but put himself at the head of his forces, and on the fourth day encamped over against the Romans, keeping the river Arsania between himself and them, which they must of necessity cross on their way to Artaxata. Thereupon Lucullus sacrificed to the gods, in full assurance that the victory was already his. and then crossed the river with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest disposed so as to prevent the enemy from closing in upon his flanks. For large bodies of horsemen and picked soldiers confronted him, and these were covered by Mardian mounted archers and Iberian lancers, on whom Tigranes relied beyond any other mercenaries, deeming them the most warlike. However, they did not shine in action, but after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, gave way before the advancing infantry, scattered to right and left in flight, and drew after them the cavalry in pursuit. On the dispersion of these troops, Tigranes rode out at the head of his cavalry, and when Lucullus saw their splendour and their numbers he was afraid. He therefore recalled his cavalry from their pursuit of the flying enemy, and taking the lead of his troops in person, set upon the Atropateni, who were stationed opposite him with the magnates of the king's following, and before coming to close quarters, sent them off in panic flight. Of three

τεταγμένων βασιλέων αἴσχιστα δοκεῖ φυγεῖν ὁ Ποντικὸς Μιθριδάτης, οὐδὲ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν Ῥω-
8 μαίων ἀνασχόμενος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως μακρᾶς καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτός, οὐ μόνον κτείνοντες αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγροῦντες καὶ χρήματα καὶ λείαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ἀπεῖπον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Λιούϊος ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ πλείονας, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ γνωριμωτέρους πεσεῖν καὶ ληφθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων.

XXXII. Ἐκ τούτου Λούκουλλος μὲν ἐπηρμένος καὶ τεθαρρηκὼς ἄνω προάγειν διενοεῖτο καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν βάρβαρον· ὥρᾳ δ' ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντι χειμῶνες ἐπέπεσον βαρεῖς, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα κατανίφοντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις πάχνην ἐπιφέροντες καὶ πάγον, ὑφ' οὗ χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ποταμοὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνεσθαι διὰ ψυχρότητος ὑπερβολήν, χαλεπαὶ δ' αὐτῶν αἱ διαβάσεις ἐκρηγνυμένου τοῦ κρυστάλλου καὶ διακόπτοντος τὰ νεῦρα τῶν
2 ἵππων τῇ τραχύτητι. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πολλὴ συνηρεφὴς οὖσα καὶ στενόπορος καὶ ἑλώδης ἀεὶ καθύγραινεν αὐτούς, χιόνος ἀναπιμπλαμένους ἐν
51 ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ κακῶς ἐν τόποις νοτεροῖς νυκτερεύοντας. οὐ πολλὰς οὖν ἡμέρας ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ Λουκούλλῳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἠναντιοῦντο, πρῶτον δεόμενοι καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους προσπέμποντες, ἔπειτα θορυβωδέστερον συνιστάμενοι καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς νυκτὸς ἀλαλάζοντες, ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ σύμβολον ἀποστατικῶς ἐχούσης
3 στρατιᾶς. καίτοι πολλὰ προσελιπάρει Λούκουλλος ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς μακροθυμίαν ἐμβαλέσθαι ταῖς

kings who together confronted the Romans, Mithridates of Pontus seems to have fled most disgracefully, for he could not endure even their shouting. The pursuit was long and lasted through the whole night, and the Romans were worn out, not only with killing their enemies, but also with taking prisoners and getting all sorts of booty. Livy says that in the former battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of high station were slain and taken prisoners.

XXXII. Elated and emboldened by this victory, Lucullus purposed to advance further into the interior and subdue the Barbarian realm utterly. But, contrary to what might have been expected at the time of the autumnal equinox, severe winter weather was encountered, which generally covered the ground with snow, and even when the sky was clear produced hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, so excessive was the cold, nor could they easily cross them, since the ice broke, and cut the horses' sinews with its jagged edges. Most of the country was thickly shaded, full of narrow defiles, and marshy, so that it kept the soldiers continually wet; they were covered with snow while they marched, and spent the nights uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly, they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to object. At first they sent their tribunes to him with entreaties to desist, then they held more tumultuous assemblies, and shouted in their tents at night, which seems to have been characteristic of a mutinous army. And yet Lucullus plied them with entreaties, calling upon them to possess their souls in patience until they had

ψυχαῖς, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Καρχηδόνα λαβόντες ἀνδρὸς ἐχθίστου, τὸν Ἀννίβαν λέγων, ἔργον ἀνατρέψωσιν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀπῆγεν αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω καὶ κατ' ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς διελθὼν τὸν Ταῦρον εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μυγδονικὴν κατέβαινε, χώραν πάμφορον καὶ ἀλεεινὴν καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχουσαν, ἣν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Νίσιβιν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες
4 Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδονικὴν προσηγόρευον. ταύτην εἶχεν ἀξιώματι μὲν ἀδελφὸς Τιγράνου Γούρας, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι μηχανικῇ Καλλίμαχος ὁ καὶ περὶ Ἀμισὸν πλεῖστα πράγματα Λουκούλλῳ παρασχών. βαλόμενος δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πολιορκίας ἐπαγαγὼν ὀλίγῳ
5 χρόνῳ κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Γούρᾳ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντι φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο, Καλλιμάχῳ δ' ὑπισχνουμένῳ θήκας ἀπορρήτους μεγάλων χρημάτων ἀνακαλύψειν οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις κομίζεσθαι δίκην ὑφέξοντα τοῦ πυρός, ᾧ τὴν Ἀμισηνῶν διαλυμηνάμενος πόλιν ἀφείλετο φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

XXXIII. Μέχρι τοῦδε φαίη τις ἂν Λουκούλλῳ τὴν τύχην ἑπομένην συστρατηγεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὥσπερ πνεύματος ἐπιλιπόντος προσβιαζόμενος πάντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀντικρούων ἀρετὴν μὲν ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ, δόξαν δὲ καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν αἱ πράξεις ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἐγγὺς ἦλθε δυσπραγῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος μάτην ἀποβαλεῖν.
2 τῶν δ' αἰτιῶν αὐτὸς οὐχὶ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἰς τοῦτο παρέσχεν, οὐκ ὢν θεραπευτικὸς πλήθους

taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their most hated foe, meaning Hannibal. But since he could not persuade them, he led them back, and crossing the Taurus by another pass, descended into the country called Mygdonia, which is fertile and open to the sun, and contains a large and populous city, called Nisibis by the Barbarians, Antioch in Mygdonia by the Greeks. The nominal defender of this city, by virtue of his rank, was Gouras, a brother of Tigranes; but its actual defender, by virtue of his experience and skill as an engineer, was Callimachus, the man who gave Lucullus most trouble at Amisus also. But Lucullus established his camp before it, laid siege to it in every way, and in a short time took the city by storm. To Gouras, who surrendered himself into his hands, he gave kind treatment; but to Callimachus, who promised to reveal secret stores of great treasure, he would not hearken. Instead, he ordered him to be brought in chains, that he might be punished for destroying Amisus by fire, and thereby robbing Lucullus of the object of his ambition, which was to show kindness to the Greeks.

XXXIII. Up to this point, one might say that fortune had followed Lucullus and fought on his side; but from now on, as though a favouring breeze had failed him, he had to force every issue, and met with obstacles everywhere. He still displayed the bravery and patience of a good leader, but his undertakings brought him no new fame or favour; indeed, so ill-starred and devious was his course, that he came near losing that which he had already won. And he himself was not least to blame for this. He was not disposed to court the favour of the common

στρατιωτικοῦ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ ἀρχομένου γινόμενον ἀρχῆς ἀτιμίαν καὶ κατάλυσιν ἡγούμενος· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἰσοτίμοις εὐάρμοστος εἶναι πεφυκώς, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονῶν καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίους πρὸς αὑτὸν
3 ἡγούμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρξαι Λουκούλλῳ κακὰ λέγουσιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς· καὶ γὰρ μέγας καὶ καλὸς καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος ὁμαλῶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι.

Σαλούστιος μὲν οὖν φησι χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἀμισῷ, δύο χειμῶνας ἑξῆς ἐν χάρακι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκα-
4 σθέντας. ἠνίων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χειμῶνες. ἢ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διεχείμαζον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὕπαιθροι σκηνοῦντες, εἰς δὲ πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φίλην οὐδ' ἅπαξ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ στρατοπέδου Λούκουλλος. οὕτω δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἐνέδωκαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δημαγωγοὶ προφάσεις, φθόνῳ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοπλουτίας ἕλκοντος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μονονοὺ κατέχοντος ἐν ταὐτῷ Κιλικίαν, Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Παφλαγονίαν, Γαλατίαν, Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν, τὰ μέχρι Φάσιδος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιγράνου βασίλεια πεπορθηκότος, ὥσπερ ἐκδῦσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οὐ
5 καταπολεμῆσαι πεμφθέντος. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν φασιν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Λεύκιον Κόϊντον, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστα πεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν διαδόχους τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένων πολ- 51
λοὺς ἀφεῖσθαι στρατείας.

soldier, and thought that everything that was done to please one's command only dishonoured and undermined one's authority. Worst of all, not even with men of power and of equal rank with himself could he readily co-operate; he despised them all, and thought them of no account as compared with himself. These bad qualities Lucullus is said to have had, but no more than these. He was tall and handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally able in the forum and the field.

Well, then, Sallust says that his soldiers were ill-disposed towards him at the very beginning of the war, before Cyzicus, and again before Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two successive winters in camp. The winters that followed also vexed them. They spent them either in the enemy's country, or among the allies, encamped under the open sky. Not once did Lucullus take his army into a city that was Greek and friendly. In their disaffection, they received the greatest support from the popular tribunes at Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through love of power and love of wealth. They said he all but had in his own sole power Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the regions extending to the Phasis, and that now he had actually plundered the palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent, not to subdue the kings, but to strip them. These were the words, they say, of Lucius Quintus, one of the praetors, to whom most of all the people listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They voted also that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service.

XXXIV. Τούτοις δὲ τηλικούτοις οὖσι προσγίνεται τὸ μάλιστα Λουκούλλῳ διειργασμένον τὰς πράξεις, Πόπλιος Κλώδιος, ἀνὴρ ὑβριστὴς καὶ μεστὸς ὀλιγωρίας ἁπάσης καὶ θρασύτητος. ἦν δὲ τῆς Λουκούλλου γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, ἣν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν ἀκολαστοτάτην οὖσαν.
2 τότε δὲ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συστρατεύων οὐχ ὅσης αὐτὸν ἠξίου τιμῆς ἐτύγχανεν· ἠξίου δὲ πρῶτος εἶναι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀπολειπόμενος διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὑποικούρει τὴν Φιμβριανὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρώξυνε κατὰ τοῦ Λουκούλλου, λόγους χρηστοὺς εἰς οὐκ ἄκοντας οὐδ' ἀήθεις τοῦ δημαγωγεῖσθαι διαδιδούς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν, οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἀνέπεισε Φιμβρίας ἀποκτείναντας τὸν ὕπατον
3 Φλάκκον αὐτὸν ἑλέσθαι στρατηγόν. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἡδέως ἐδέχοντο καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην προσηγόρευον, ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ πέρας οὐδὲν ἔσται πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν ἔθνει μαχόμενοι, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν πλανώμενοι κατατρίψουσι τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐκ τηλικαύτης φερόμενοι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ τὰς Λουκούλλου παραπέμποντες ἁμάξας καὶ καμήλους ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ διαλίθων
4 γεμούσας, οἱ δὲ Πομπηΐου στρατιῶται δῆμος ὄντες ἤδη που μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κάθηνται γῆν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες, οὐ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς τὰς ἀοικήτους ἐμβαλόντες ἐρημίας, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ βασίλεια καταρρίψαντες, ἀλλὰ φυγάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ δραπέ-

XXXIV. To these factors in the case, so unfavourable in themselves, there was added another, which most of all vitiated the undertakings of Lucullus. This was Publius Clodius, a man of wanton violence, and full of all arrogance and boldness. He was a brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of the most dissolute ways, whom he was actually accused of debauching. At this time he was in service with Lucullus, and did not get all the honour which he thought his due. He thought a foremost place his due, and when many were preferred before him because of his evil character, he worked secretly upon the soldiers who had been commanded by Fimbria, and tried to incite them against Lucullus, disseminating among them speeches well adapted to men who were neither unwilling nor unaccustomed to have their favour courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had once persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and choose himself for their general. They therefore gladly listened to Clodius also, and called him the soldier's friend. For he pretended to be incensed in their behalf, if there was to be no end of their countless wars and toils, but they were rather to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation and wandering over every land, receiving no suitable reward for such service, but convoying the waggons and camels of Lucullus laden with golden beakers set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompey, citizens now, were snugly ensconced with wives and children in the possession of fertile lands and prosperous cities,—not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts, nor for having demolished the royal palaces of Asia, but for having fought with wretched exiles in Spain and

ταις ἐν' Ιταλίᾳ πολεμήσαντες. "Τί οὖν, εἰ δεῖ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι στρατευομένους, οὐχὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ σώματα τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ψυχὰς φυλάσσομεν, ᾧ κάλλιστος εἶναι δοκεῖ κόσμος ὁ τῶν στρατευομένων πλοῦτος;"

5 Τοιαύταις αἰτίαις τὸ Λουκούλλου στράτευμα διαφθαρὲν οὔτ' ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἠκολούθησεν οὔτ' ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην αὖθις ἐξ 'Αρμενίας εἰς Πόντον ἐμβαλόντα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντα, πρόφασιν δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενοι περὶ τὴν Γορδυηνὴν διέτριβον, ὅσον οὔπω Πομπήϊον ἤ τιν' ἄλλον τῶν ἡγεμόνων Λουκούλλῳ διάδοχον ἀφίξεσθαι προσδοκῶντες.

XXXV. 'Επεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἤγγελτο Φάβιον νενικηκὼς ἐπὶ Σωρνάτιον καὶ Τριάριον βαδίζειν, αἰσχυνθέντες εἵποντο τῷ Λουκούλλῳ. Τριάριος δ' ὡς ἕτοιμον ἁρπάσαι τὸ νίκημα, πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Λούκουλλον ἐγγὺς ὄντα, φιλοτιμούμενος ἡττᾶται μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑπτακισχιλίους 'Ρωμαίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἑκατόνταρχοι μὲν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, χιλίαρχοι δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες· τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον εἷλε Μιθριδάτης.

2 ἐπελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις Τριάριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ζητούμενον πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξέκλεψε, Μιθριδάτου δὲ μὴ θέλοντος μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνην περιμένοντος ἤδη καταβαίνοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἔγνω πρὶν ἀμφοτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ δια-

3 γωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὁδὸν οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ στασιάσαντες ἀπέλιπον τὰς τάξεις, ὡς ἀφειμένοι δόγματι τῆς

runaway slaves in Italy. "Why, then," he would cry, "if our campaigns are never to come to an end, do we not reserve what is left of our bodies, and our lives, for a general in whose eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honour?"

For such reasons as these the army of Lucullus was demoralised, and refused to follow him either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates, who had come back into Pontus from Armenia, and was trying to restore his power there. They made the winter their excuse for lingering in Gordyené, expecting every moment that Pompey, or some other commander, would be sent out to succeed Lucullus.

XXXV. But when tidings came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius,[1] and was on the march against Sornatius and Triarius, they were struck with shame and followed Lucullus. But Triarius, who was ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought assured, before Lucullus, who was near, should come up, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that over seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; and their camp was captured by Mithridates. But Lucullus, coming up a few days afterward, hid Triarius from the search of his infuriated soldiers. Then, since Mithridates was unwilling to give fight, but lay waiting for Tigranes, who was coming down with a large force, he determined to anticipate the junction of their armies, and march back to meet Tigranes in battle. But while he was on the way thither, the Fimbrian soldiers mutinied and left their ranks, declaring that they were discharged from

[1] 67 B.C.

στρατείας καὶ μηκέτι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ προσῆκον
ἄρχειν, ἑτέροις ἀποδεδειγμένων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν.
οὐδὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὅ τι τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν ὁ Λούκουλλος
οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀντιβολῶν καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατὰ
σκηνὰς περιϊὼν ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος, ἔστι
4 δ' ὧν καὶ χειρὸς[1] ἁπτόμενος. οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο
τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ κενὰ προσερρίπτουν βαλάντια,
καὶ μόνον μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευον,
ἀφ' ὧν μόνος ἠπίστατο πλουτεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν δεομένων ἐκβιασθέντες
οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ συνέθεντο παραμεῖναι τὸ θέρος· 51
ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ κατίῃ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιούμενος, ἀπηλλάχθαι. ταῦτ' ἔδει
στέργειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἢ προέσθαι
5 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν ἀπολειφθέντα. συνεῖ-
χεν οὖν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι προσβιαζόμενος οὐδὲ
προάγων πρὸς μάχην, ἀλλ' εἰ παραμένοιεν
ἀγαπῶν, καὶ περιορῶν πορθουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ
Τιγράνου τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑβρίζοντα
Μιθριδάτην, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπεστάλκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ
γράφων καταπεπολεμῆσθαι· καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις
παρῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ
6 πραγμάτων, ὡς δὴ βεβαίως ἐχομένων. καὶ δὴ
παρόντες ἑώρων οὐδ' αὐτοῦ κύριον, ἀλλὰ παροι-
νούμενον καὶ προπηλακιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν, οἷς γε τοσοῦτο περιῆν τῆς εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν
ἀσελγείας, ὥστε τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ἐνδύντες

[1] καὶ χειρός S: χειρός.

service by decree of the people, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since the provinces had been assigned to others. Accordingly, there was no expedient, however much beneath his dignity, to which Lucullus did not force himself to resort,—entreating the soldiers man by man, going about from tent to tent in humility and tears, and actually taking some of the men by the hand in supplication. But they rejected his advances, and threw their empty purses down before him, bidding him fight the enemy alone, since he alone knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the other soldiers, the Fimbrians were constrained to agree to remain during the summer; but if, in the meantime, no enemy should come down to fight them, they were to be dismissed. Lucullus was obliged to content himself with these terms, or else to be deserted and give up the country to the Barbarians. He therefore simply held his soldiers together, without forcing them any more, or leading them out to battle. Their remaining with him was all he could expect, and he looked on helplessly while Tigranes ravaged Cappadocia and Mithridates resumed his insolent ways,—a monarch whom he had reported by letter to the Senate as completely subdued. Besides, the commissioners were now with him, who had been sent out to regulate the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession. And lo, when they came, they saw that Lucullus was not even his own master, but was mocked and insulted by his soldiers. These went so far in their outrageous treatment of their general, that, at the close of the summer, they donned their

τὰ ὅπλα καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς μηδαμοῦ παρόντας, ἀλλ' ἀπηρκότας ἤδη πολεμίους. ἀλαλάξαντες δὲ καὶ σκιαμαχήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι πεπληρῶσθαι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὡμολόγησαν τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παραμένειν.

7 Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκάλει διὰ γραμμάτων Πομπήϊος· ἤδη γὰρ ἀποδέδεικτο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην πολέμου στρατηγὸς χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ κολακείᾳ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄδικα πάσχειν ἐδόκει Λούκουλλος οὐ πολέμου διαδόχους, ἀλλὰ θριάμβου λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπάθλων τῆς στρατηγίας ἐξίστασθαι καὶ παραχωρεῖν ἑτέροις.

XXXVI. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφάνη τὸ γινόμενον τοῖς ἐκεῖ παροῦσι νεμεσητόν. οὔτε γὰρ τιμῆς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὔτε τιμωρίας τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κύριος ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδ' εἴα τινὰ Πομπήϊος βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ προσέχειν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔγραφε καὶ διένεμε μετὰ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων, ἀλλ' ἐκώλυεν ἐκτιθεὶς διαγράμματα καὶ φοβερὸς παρὼν ἀπὸ
2 μείζονος δυνάμεως. ὅμως δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ συνῆλθον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ προσεῖπον ἀλλήλους φιλοφρόνως καὶ συνήσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ἑκατέρῳ, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀξίωμα δ' ἦν τὸ Πομπηΐου μεῖζον ἀπὸ πλειόνων στρατηγιῶν καὶ δυεῖν θριάμβων. ῥάβδοι δ'

armour, drew their swords, and challenged to battle an enemy who was nowhere near, but had already withdrawn. Then they shouted their war cries, brandished their weapons in the air, and departed from the camp, calling men to witness that the time had expired during which they had agreed to remain with Lucullus.

The rest of the soldiers Pompey summoned by letter, for he had already been appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates and Tigranes,[1] because he won the favour of the people and flattered their leaders. But the Senate and the nobility considered Lucullus a wronged man. He had been superseded, they said, not in a war, but in a triumph, and had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others, not his campaign, but the prizes of victory in his campaign.

XXXVI. But to those who were on the spot, what happened there seemed still greater matter for wrath and indignation. For Lucullus was not allowed to bestow rewards or punishments for what had been done in the war, nor would Pompey even suffer any one to visit him, or to pay any heed to the edicts and regulations which he made in concert with the ten commissioners, but prevented it by issuing counter-edicts, and by the terror which his presence with a larger force inspired. Nevertheless, their friends decided to bring the two men together, and so they met in a certain village of Galatia. They greeted one another amicably, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey's prestige was the greater, because he had conducted more campaigns, and celebrated

[1] 66 B.C.

ἀμφοτέρων προηγοῦντο δαφνηφόροι διὰ τὰς νίκας.
3 καὶ τοῦ γε Πομπηΐου μακρὰν ὁδὸν διὰ τόπων
ἀνύδρων καὶ αὐχμηρῶν ὁδεύσαντος τὰς δάφνας
ξηρὰς περικειμένας ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἰδόντες οἱ
τοῦ Λουκούλλου ῥαβδοφόροι φιλοφρονούμενοι
τοῖς ἐκείνου μετέδωκαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, προσ-
φάτους καὶ θαλερὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ τὸ γινόμενον
εἰς οἰωνὸν ἐτίθεντο χρηστὸν οἱ Πομπηΐου φίλοι·
τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν ἐκείνου στρατηγίαν αἱ τούτου
4 πράξεις ἐκόσμησαν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων πρὸς οὐδὲν
ἐπιεικὲς συνέβησαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀλλοτριω-
θέντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπῆλθον· καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Λουκούλλου γενομένας διατάξεις ἠκύρωσεν ὁ
Πομπήϊος, στρατιώτας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαγαγὼν
μόνους αὐτῷ χιλίους ἑξακοσίους ἀπέλιπε συν-
θριαμβεύσοντας, οὐδὲ τούτους μάλα προθύμως
5 ἑπομένους. οὕτω τις ἦν ἀφυὴς ἢ δυστυχὴς ὁ
Λούκουλλος πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πρῶτον
καὶ μέγιστον· ὡς, εἰ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, τηλικούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων,
μετ' ἀνδρείας, ἐπιμελείας, συνέσεως, δικαιοσύνης,
οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία τὸν Εὐφράτην
6 τῆς Ἀσίας ὅρον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ τὴν Ὑρκα- 51
νίαν θάλατταν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν Τιγράνῃ
προηττημένων, τῆς δὲ Πάρθων δυνάμεως οὐχ ὅση
κατὰ Κράσσον ἐξεφάνη τοσαύτης καὶ κατὰ Λού-
κουλλον οὔσης οὐδ' ὁμοίως συνεστώσης, ἀλλ' ὑπ
ἐμφυλίων καὶ προσοίκων πολέμων οὐδ' Ἀρμενίους
ὑβρίζοντας ἐρρωμένης ἀμύνεσθαι.

Νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ Λούκουλλος ὧν ὠφέλησε δι'
αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα βλάψαι μείζονα δι' ἑτέρων.

two triumphs. Fasces wreathed with laurel were carried before both commanders in token of their victories, and since Pompey had made a long march through waterless and arid regions, the laurel which wreathed his fasces was withered. When the lictors of Lucullus noticed this, they considerately gave Pompey's lictors some of their own laurel, which was fresh and green. This circumstance was interpreted as a good omen by the friends of Pompey; for, in fact, the exploits of Lucullus did adorn the command of Pompey. However, their conference resulted in no equitable agreement, but they left it still more estranged from one another. Pompey also annulled the ordinances of Lucullus, and took away all but sixteen hundred of his soldiers. These he left to share his triumph, but even these did not follow him very cheerfully. To such a marvellous degree was Lucullus either unqualified or unfortunate as regards the first and highest of all requisites in a leader. Had this power of gaining the affection of his soldiers been added to his other gifts, which were so many and so great,—courage, diligence, wisdom, and justice, —the Roman empire would not have been bounded by the Euphrates, but by the outer confines of Asia, and the Hyrcanian sea; for all the other nations had already been subdued by Tigranes, and in the time of Lucullus the Parthian power was not so great as it proved to be in the time of Crassus, nor was it so well united, nay rather, owing to intestine and neighbouring wars, it had not even strength enough to repel the wanton attacks of the Armenians.

Now my own opinion is that the harm Lucullus did his country through his influence upon others, was greater than the good he did her himself. For his

7 τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τρόπαια Πάρθων πλησίον ἑστῶτα καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Νίσιβις καὶ πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων πολὺς εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθεὶς καὶ τὸ Τιγράνου διάδημα πομπευθὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπῆρε Κράσσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς λάφυρα καὶ λείαν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ὄντας. ταχὺ μέντοι τοῖς Πάρθων τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχὼν ἀπέδειξε τὸν Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ μαλακίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων, αὑτοῦ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ δεινότητι περιγενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην πρῶτον μὲν κατέλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον ὑπὸ Γαΐου Μεμμίου κατηγορούμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε ταμιεύων Σύλλα προστάξαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ἀποφυγόντος ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὁ Μέμμιος μεταβαλόμενος παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ νενοσφισμένῳ καὶ μηκύναντι τὸν πόλε-
2 μον ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον. ἐλθόντος δ' εἰς ἀγῶνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου μέγαν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι καταμίξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς φυλαῖς πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ σπουδῇ μόλις ἔπεισαν τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι, μήκει τε πομπῆς καὶ πλήθει τῶν κομιζομένων ἐκπληκτικὸν καὶ ὀχλώδη θρίαμβον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις τῶν πολεμίων οὖσι παμπόλλοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸν Φλαμίνειον ἱππόδρομον διεκόσμησε· καὶ θέα τις
3 ἦν αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· ἐν δὲ

trophies in Armenia, standing on the borders of Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the vast wealth brought to Rome from these cities, and the display in his triumph of the captured diadem of Tigranes, incited Crassus to his attack upon Asia; he thought that the Barbarians were spoil and booty, and nothing else. It was not long, however, before he encountered the Parthian arrows, and proved that Lucullus had won his victories, not through the folly and cowardice of his enemies, but through his own daring and ability. This, however, is later history.

XXXVII. Now when Lucullus had returned to Rome, he found, in the first place, that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Gaius Memmius for his acts as quaestor under the administration of Sulla. Marcus, indeed, was acquitted, but Memmius then turned his attack upon Lucullus, and strove to excite the people against him. He charged him with diverting much property to his own uses, and with needlessly protracting the war, and finally persuaded the people not to grant him a triumph. Lucullus strove mightily against this decision, and the foremost and most influential men mingled with the tribes, and by much entreaty and exertion at last persuaded the people to allow him to celebrate a triumph;[1] not, however, like some, a triumph which was startling and tumultuous from the length of the procession and the multitude of objects displayed. Instead, he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible.

[1] 66 B.C.

τῇ πομπῇ τῶν τε καταφράκτων ἱππέων ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἁρμάτων δέκα παρῆλθον, ἑξήκοντα δὲ φίλοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, μακραὶ δὲ χαλκέμβολοι νῆες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα ἅμα παρεκομίσθησαν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου χρύσεος ἑξάπους κολοσσός, καὶ θυρεός τις διάλιθος, καὶ φορήματα εἴκοσι μὲν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν, χρυσῶν δ' ἐκπωμάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ νομίσματος δύο καὶ
4 τριάκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες παρεκόμιζον· ἡμίονοι δ' ὀκτὼ κλίνας χρυσᾶς ἔφερον, ἓξ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα κεχωνευμένον ἀργύριον, ἄλλοι δ' ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ, μικρῷ τινι δεούσας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας. ἐν δὲ δέλτοις ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν ἤδη δεδομένων χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηΐῳ πρὸς τὸν πειρατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου, καὶ χωρὶς ὅτι στρατιώτης ἕκαστος ἐνακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔλαβεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τήν τε πόλιν εἱστίασε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὰς περιοικίδας κώμας, ἃς οὐίκους καλοῦσι.

XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ Κλωδίας ἀπηλλαγμένος, οὔσης ἀσελγοῦς καὶ πονηρᾶς, Σερουϊλίαν ἔγημεν, ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εὐτυχῆ γάμον. ἓν γὰρ οὐ προσῆν αὐτῷ τῶν Κλωδίας κακῶν μόνον, ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαβολή· τἆλλα δὲ βδελυρὰν ὁμοίως οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἠναγκάζετο φέρειν αἰδούμενος Κάτωνα, τέλος δὲ ἀπεῖπεν.
2 Ἐλπίδας δὲ θαυμαστὰς τῇ βουλῇ παρασχών, ὡς ἐχούσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀντίταγμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πομπηΐου τυραννίδα καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας

But in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horsemen and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king's friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armour, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots of silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already paid by Lucullus to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas. To crown all, Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called *Vici*.

XXXVIII. After his divorce from Clodia, who was a licentious and base woman, he married Servilia, a sister of Cato, but this, too, was an unfortunate marriage. For it lacked none of the evils which Clodia had brought in her train except one, namely, the scandal about her brothers. In all other respects Servilia was equally vile and abandoned, and yet Lucullus forced himself to tolerate her, out of regard for Cato. At last, however, he put her away.

The Senate had conceived wondrous hopes that in him it would find an opposer of the tyranny of Pompey and a champion of the aristocracy, with all

πρόμαχον ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ὁρμώμενον μεγάλης, ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ προήκατο τὴν πολιτείαν, εἴτε δυσκάθεκτον ἤδη καὶ νοσοῦσαν ὁρῶν εἴθ', ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, μεστὸς ὢν δόξης καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾷστον ἀναπίπτων τοῦ βίου καὶ μαλακώτατον ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων οὐκ εὐτυχέστατον τέλος
3 λαβόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην μεταβολήν, τὸ Μαρίου πάθος μὴ παθόντος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς Κιμβρικαῖς νίκαις καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐκείνοις κατορθώμασιν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὑτὸν ἀνεῖναι τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ ζηλωτόν, ἀλλ' ἀπληστίᾳ δόξης καὶ ἀρχῆς νέοις ἀνδράσι γέρων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος εἰς ἔργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη δεινότερα τῶν ἔργων ἐξώκειλε· βέλτιον δ' ἂν καὶ Κικέρωνα γηρᾶσαι μετὰ Κατιλίναν ὑποστειλάμενον καὶ Σκηπίωνα Καρχηδόνι προσθέντα
4 Νομαντίαν, εἶτα παυσάμενον· εἶναι γάρ τινα καὶ πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀθλητικῶν ἀγώνων τοὺς πολιτικοὺς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀκμῆς καὶ ὥρας ἐπιλιπούσης ἐλέγχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον καὶ Πομπήϊον ἐχλεύαζον τὸν Λούκουλλον εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀφεικότα καὶ πολυτέλειαν αὑτόν, ὥσπερ οὐ τοῦ τρυφᾶν μᾶλλον τοῖς τηλικούτοις παρ' ἡλικίαν ὄντος ἢ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν.

XXXIX. Ἔστι δ' οὖν τοῦ Λουκούλλου βίου, καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ' ὕστερα πότους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ μονονουχὶ κώμους καὶ
2 λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιὰν ἅπασαν. εἰς παιδιὰν γὰρ ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ

the advantage of great glory and influence; but he quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury. Some commend him for making such a change, and thereby escaping the unhappy lot of Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and the large and fair successes which were so famous, was unwilling to relax his efforts and enjoy the honours won, but with an insatiate desire for glory and power, old man that he was, fought with young men in the conduct of the state, and so drove headlong into terrible deeds, and sufferings more terrible still. Cicero, say these, would have had a better old age if he had taken in sail after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio, too, if he had given himself pause after adding Numantia to Carthage; for a political cycle, too, has a sort of natural termination, and political no less than athletic contests are absurd, after the full vigor of life has departed. Crassus and Pompey, on the other hand, ridiculed Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagance, as if a luxurious life were not even more unsuitable to men of his years than political and military activities.

XXXIX. And it is true that in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, one reads in the first part of political measures and military commands, and in the latter part of drinking bouts, and banquets, and what might pass for revel-routs, and torch-races, and all manner of frivolity. For I must count as frivolity his costly edifices, his ambulatories

κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γραφὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὴν περὶ ταύτας τὰς τέχνας σπουδήν, ἃς ἐκεῖνος συνῆγε μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν, εἰς ταῦτα τῷ πλούτῳ ῥύδην καταχρώμενος, ὃν ἠθροίκει πολὺν καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, ἐπίδοσιν τοιαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ Λουκουλλιανοὶ κῆποι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστά-
3 τοις ἀριθμοῦνται. τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφους ἀνακρεμαννύντος αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις ὀρύγμασι καὶ τροχοὺς θαλάσσης καὶ διαδρομὰς ἰχθυοτρόφους τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις περιελίσσοντος καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίους κτίζοντος, ὁ Στωϊκὸς Τουβέρων θεασάμενος Ξέρξην αὐτὸν ἐκ
4 τηβέννου προσηγόρευσεν. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐγχώριοι δίαιται καὶ κατασκοπαὶ περιόπτων καὶ κατασκευαὶ ἀναπεπταμένων ἀνδρώνων καὶ περιπάτων, ἐν αἷς ὁ Πομπήϊος γενόμενος ἐμέμφετο τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸς θέρος ἄριστα διαθεὶς τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἀοίκητον ἐν χειμῶνι πεποίηκε. γελάσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος "Εἶτα," ἔφη, "σοὶ δοκῶ ἐλάττονα τῶν γεράνων νοῦν ἔχειν καὶ τῶν πελαργῶν, ὥστε ταῖς ὥραις μὴ συμμετα-
5 βάλλειν τὰς διαίτας;" στρατηγοῦ δέ ποτε φιλοτιμουμένου περὶ θέας καὶ χορῷ τινι κόσμον αἰτουμένου πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας ἀπεκρίνατο σκεψάμενος, ἂν ἔχῃ, δώσειν, εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν, ὁπόσων δέοιτο. τοῦ δὲ ἑκατὸν ἀρκέσειν φήσαντος ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν δὶς τοσαύτας· εἰς ὃ καὶ Φλάκκος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν, ὡς

and baths, and still more his paintings and statues (not to speak of his devotion to these arts), which he collected at enormous outlays, pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns. Even now, when luxury has increased so much, the gardens of Lucullus are counted among the most costly of the imperial gardens. As for his works on the seashore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he suspended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the Stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country establishments near Tusculum, with observatories, and extensive open banqueting halls and cloisters. Pompey once visited these, and chided Lucullus because he had arranged his country seat in the best possible way for summer, but had made it uninhabitable in winter. Whereupon Lucullus burst out laughing and said: "Do you suppose, then, that I have less sense than cranes and storks, and do not change residences according to the seasons?" A praetor was once making ambitious plans for a public spectacle, and asked of him some purple cloaks for the adornment of a chorus. Lucullus replied that he would investigate, and if he had any, would give them to him. The next day he asked the praetor how many he wanted, and on his replying that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice that number. The poet Flaccus[1] alluded to this when

[1] *Epist.* i. 6, 45 f.

οὐ νομίζει πλοῦτον, οὗ μὴ τὰ παρορώμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα πλείονα τῶν φαινομένων ἐστί.

XL. Νεόπλουτα δ' ἦν τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ δεῖπνα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν, οὐ μόνον στρωμναῖς ἁλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθοις ἐκπώμασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκροάμασιν ἐπεισοδίοις, ἀλλ' ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ πεμμάτων περιττῶς διαπεπονημένων παρασκευαῖς ζηλωτὸν ἀνελευθέροις ποιοῦντος
2 ἑαυτόν. ὁ γοῦν Πομπήϊος εὐδοκίμησε νοσῶν· τοῦ γὰρ ἰατροῦ κίχλην αὐτὸν λαβεῖν κελεύσαντος, τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖν ἀλλαχόθι φαμένων θέρους ὥρᾳ κίχλην ἢ παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ σιτευομένην, οὐκ εἴασε λαβεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἰατρόν "Οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὴ Λούκουλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἂν ἔζησεν;" ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσαι
3 τῶν εὐπορίστων ἐκέλευσε. Κάτων δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φίλος καὶ οἰκεῖος, οὕτω δὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὥστε, νέου τινὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ μακρὸν ἀκαίρως ὑπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ σωφροσύνης διελθόντος, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "Οὐ παύσῃ," ἔφη, "σὺ πλουτῶν μὲν ὡς Κράσσος, ζῶν δ' ὡς Λούκουλλος, λέγων δὲ ὡς Κάτων;" ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ῥηθῆναι μὲν οὕτως, ὑπὸ Κάτωνος δὲ οὐ λέγουσιν.

XLI. Ὁ μέντοι Λούκουλλος οὐχ ἡδόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνόμενος τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. λέγεται γὰρ Ἕλληνας ἀνθρώπους ἀναβάντας εἰς Ῥώμην ἑστιᾶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς δ' ὄντως Ἑλληνικόν τι παθόντας, αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι

he said that he did not regard a house as wealthy in which the treasures that were overlooked and unobserved were not more than those which met the eye.

XL. The daily repasts of Lucullus were such as the newly rich affect. Not only with his dyed coverlets, and beakers set with precious stones, and choruses and dramatic recitations, but also with his arrays of all sorts of meats and daintily prepared dishes, did he make himself the envy of the vulgar. A saying of Pompey's, when he was ill, was certainly very popular. His physicians had prescribed a thrush for him to eat, and his servants said that a thrush could not be found anywhere in the summer season except where Lucullus kept them fattening. Pompey, however, would not suffer them to get one from there, but bade them prepare something else that was easily to be had, remarking as he did so to his physician, "What! must a Pompey have died if a Lucullus were not luxurious?" And Cato, who was a friend of his, and a relation by marriage, was nevertheless much offended by his life and habits. Once when a youthful senator had delivered a tedious and lengthy discourse, all out of season, on frugality and temperance, Cato rose and said; "Stop there! you get wealth like Crassus, you live like Lucullus, but you talk like Cato." Some, however, while they say that these words were actually uttered, do not say that they were spoken by Cato.

XLI. Moreover, that Lucullus took not only pleasure but pride in this way of living, is clear from the anecdotes recorded of him. It is said, for instance, that he entertained for many successive days some Greeks who had come up to Rome, and that they, with genuinely Greek scruples, were at last ashamed to accept his invitation, on the ground

την κλῆσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτων
2 *ἀναλισκομένων· τὸν οὖν Λούκουλλον εἰπεῖν μει-*
διάσαντα πρὸς αὐτούς· "Γίνεται μέν τι τούτων
καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες· τὰ μέντοι
πλεῖστα γίνεται διὰ Λούκουλλον." ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνου
δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μία τράπεζα καὶ μέτριον παρε-
σκευάσθη δεῖπνον, ἠγανάκτει καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ
τούτῳ τεταγμένον οἰκέτην. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ὡς
οὐκ ᾤετο μηδενὸς κεκλημένου πολυτελοῦς τινος
αὐτὸν δεήσεσθαι "Τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν, "οὐκ ᾔδεις,
ὅτι σήμερον παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ δειπνεῖ Λούκουλ-
3 *λος;" ὄντος δὲ περὶ τούτου, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν τῇ πόλει*
λόγου πολλοῦ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀγορὰν
σχολὴν ἄγοντι Κικέρων καὶ Πομπήϊος, ὁ μὲν ἐν
τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὢν καὶ συνήθης, Πομπηΐῳ δ'
ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατηγίας διαφορὰ πρὸς αὐτόν,
εἰώθεισαν δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πολλάκις
4 *ἐπιεικῶς ἀλλήλοις. ἀσπασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων*
αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἔντευξιν· τοῦ δὲ
φήσαντος, ὡς ἄριστα, καὶ παρακαλοῦντος ἐντυγ-
χάνειν "Ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "βουλόμεθα δειπνῆσαι
παρὰ σοὶ τήμερον οὕτως, ὅπως ἐστί σοι παρε-
σκευασμένα." θρυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ Λουκούλλου
καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἀξιοῦντος οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἐπιτρέψειν, οὐδ' εἴων διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς οἰκέταις,
ἵνα μή τι πλέον κελεύσῃ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ
5 *γινομένων, πλὴν τοσοῦτο μόνον αἰτουμένῳ συνε-*
χώρησαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐναντίον
ἐκείνων, ὅτι τήμερον ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δειπνήσοι·
τοῦτο γάρ τις εἶχε τῶν πολυτελῶν οἴκων ὄνομα,

that he was incurring so much expense every day on their account; whereupon Lucullus said to them with a smile, "Some of this expense, my Grecian friends, is indeed on your account; most of it, however, is on account of Lucullus." And once, when he was dining alone, and a modest repast of one course had been prepared for him, he was angry, and summoned the servant who had the matter in charge. The servant said that he did not suppose, since there were no guests, that he wanted anything very costly. "What sayest thou?" said the master, "dost thou not know that to-day Lucullus dines with Lucullus?" While this matter was much talked of in the city, as was natural, Cicero and Pompey came up to him as he was idling in the forum. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and although the matter of the command of the army had led to some coolness between him and Pompey, still they were accustomed to frequent and friendly intercourse and conversation with one another. Accordingly, Cicero saluted him, and asked how he was disposed towards receiving a petition. "Most excellently well," said Lucullus, and invited them to make their petition. "We desire," said Cicero, "to dine with you to-day just as you would have dined by yourself." Lucullus demurred to this, and begged the privilege of selecting a later day, but they refused to allow it, nor would they suffer him to confer with his servants, that he might not order any thing more provided than what was provided for himself. Thus much, however, and no more, they did allow him at his request, namely, to tell one of his servants in their presence that he would dine that day in the Apollo. Now this was the name of one of his costly apartments,

καὶ τοῦτο σεσοφισμένος ἐλελήθει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἑκάστῳ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δειπνητηρίῳ τεταγμένον ἦν τίμημα δείπνου, καὶ χορηγίαν ἰδίαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἕκαστον εἶχεν, ὥστε τοὺς δούλους ἀκούσαντας, ὅπου βούλεται δειπνεῖν, εἰδέναι, πόσον δαπάνημα καὶ ποῖόν τι κόσμῳ καὶ διαθέσει γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον· εἰώθει δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ
6 Ἀπόλλωνι πέντε μυριάδων· καὶ τότε τοσούτου τελεσθέντος ἐξέπληξε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δαπάνης τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς. εἰς ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑβριστικῶς ἐχρῆτο τῷ πλούτῳ καθάπερ ὄντως αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ.

XLII. Σπουδῆς δ' ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων κατασκευήν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνῆγεν, ἥ τε χρῆσις ἦν φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων καὶ σχολαστηρίων ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον ἐκεῖσε φοιτῶντας καὶ συνδιημερεύοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ἀσμένως ἀποτρέχοντας.
2 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους τοῖς φιλολόγοις καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συνέπραττεν ὅτου δέοιντο· καὶ ὅλως ἑστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ οἶκος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην. φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν ἠσπάζετο καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐμενὴς ἦν καὶ οἰκεῖος, ἴδιον δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς

and he thus outwitted the men without their knowing it. For each of his dining-rooms, as it seems, had a fixed allowance for the dinner served there, as well as its own special apparatus and equipment, so that his slaves, on hearing where he wished to dine, knew just how much the dinner was to cost, and what were to be its decorations and arrangements. Now the usual cost of a dinner in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and that was the sum laid out on the present occasion. Pompey was amazed at the speed with which the banquet was prepared, notwithstanding it had cost so much. In these ways, then, Lucullus used his wealth wantonly, as though it were in very truth a Barbarian prisoner-of-war.

XLII. But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books, and they were well written, and his use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneium for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school, but from the first he cherished a particular and zealous love for the Academy, not

3 ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον ἔσχεν, οὐ τῆς νέας λεγομένης, καίπερ ἀνθούσης τότε τοῖς Καρνεάδου λόγοις διὰ Φίλωνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς, πιθανὸν ἄνδρα 52
καὶ δεινὸν εἰπεῖν τότε προστάτην ἐχούσης τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην Ἀντίοχον, ὃν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος φίλον ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἀντέταττε τοῖς Φίλωνος ἀκροαταῖς, ὧν καὶ
4 Κικέρων ἦν. καὶ σύγγραμμά γε πάγκαλον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλήψεως λόγον Λουκούλλῳ περιτέθεικεν, αὑτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον. Λούκουλλος δ' ἀναγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον.

Ἦσαν δ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φίλοι σφόδρα καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὖ πάμπαν ἀπηλλάχει τῆς πολιτείας ἑαυτὸν ὁ
5 Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἅμιλλαν, ὡς οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον οὔτ' ἀνύβριστον οὖσαν, εὐθὺς ἀφῆκε Κράσσῳ καὶ Κάτωνι· τούτους γὰρ οἱ τὴν Πομπηΐου δύναμιν ὑφορώμενοι προεβάλλοντο τῆς βουλῆς, ἀπολεγομένου τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ πρωτεῖα· κατέβαινε δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν διὰ τοὺς φίλους, εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον, εἰ Πομπηΐου
6 τινὰ δέοι σπουδὴν ἢ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπηρεάσαι. καὶ τάς τε διατάξεις, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τῶν βασιλέων κρατήσας, ἐξέκρουσε, καὶ νέμησίν τινα τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ γράφοντος ἐκώλυσε δοθῆναι συμπράττοντος Κάτωνος, ὥστε Πομπήϊον εἰς τὴν

the New Academy, so-called, although that school at the time had a vigorous representative of the doctrines of Carneades in Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time was headed by a persuasive man and powerful speaker in the person of Antiochus of Ascalon. This man Lucullus hastened to make his friend and companion, and arrayed him against the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Indeed, Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in support of "apprehension" into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled "Lucullus."[1]

Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, ardent friends, and members of the same political party, for Lucullus had not withdrawn himself entirely from political life, although he lost no time in leaving to Crassus and Cato the ambitious struggle for the chief place and the greatest power, since he saw that it involved both peril and ignominy. For those who looked with suspicion upon the power of Pompey, made Crassus and Cato the champions of the senatorial party when Lucullus declined the leadership. But Lucullus would still go to the forum in support of his friends, and also to the Senate, whenever there was need of combating some ambitious scheme of Pompey's. Thus, the dispositions which Pompey made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus made null and void, and his proposal for a generous distribution of lands to his soldiers, Lucullus, with the co-operation of Cato, prevented from being granted. Pompey therefore

[1] *Academicorum Priorum*, Liber Secundus, qui inscribitur Lucullus.

Κράσσου καὶ Καίσαρος φιλίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ συνωμοσίαν, καταφυγεῖν καὶ πληρώσαντα τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν βίᾳ κυρῶσαι τὰ δόγματα, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ Λούκουλλον ἐκβαλόντα τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

7 Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προῆγον οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ Βέττιόν τινα, συνειληφέναι λέγοντες ἐπιβουλεύοντα Πομπηΐῳ. κἀκεῖνος ἀνακρινόμενος ἐν μὲν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατηγόρησεν ἑτέρων τινῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ Λούκουλλον ὠνόμασεν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεσκευα-
8 σμένος ἀποκτεῖναι Πομπήϊον. οὐδεὶς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραυτίκα δῆλος ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ διαβολῇ προηγμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφωράθη τὸ πρᾶγμα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ῥιφθέντος ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς νεκροῦ, λεγομένου μὲν αὐτομάτως τεθνάναι, σημεῖα δ' ἀγχόνης καὶ πληγῶν ἔχοντος· ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνῃρῆσθαι τῶν παρεσκευακότων.

XLIII. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπῆγε τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Λούκουλλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κάτων εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεστάλη, παντάπασιν ἐξελύθη. καὶ πρό γε τῆς τελευτῆς λέγεται νοσῆσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπομαραινομένην. Νέπως δὲ Κορνήλιος οὐχ ὑπὸ γήρως φησὶν οὐδὲ νόσου παραλλάξαι τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκοις ὑπό τινος τῶν ἀπελευ-
2 θέρων Καλλισθένους διαφθαρέντα· τὰ δὲ φάρμακα δοθῆναι μέν, ὡς ἀγαπῷτο μᾶλλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἔχειν δοκοῦντα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκστῆσαι δὲ καὶ κατακλύσαι τὸν λογισμόν, ὥστ'

took refuge in an alliance, or rather a conspiracy, with Crassus and Caesar, and by filling the city with his armed soldiery and expelling from the forum the partisans of Cato and Lucullus, got his measures ratified.

As these proceedings were resented by the nobles, the partisans of Pompey produced a certain Vettius, whom, as they declared, they had caught plotting against the life of Pompey. So the man was examined in the Senate, where he accused sundry other persons, but before the people he named Lucullus as the man who had engaged him to kill Pompey. However, no one believed his story, nay, it was at once clear that the fellow had been put forward by the partisans of Pompey to make false and malicious charges, and the fraud was made all the plainer when, a few days afterwards, his dead body was cast out of the prison. It was said, indeed, that he had died a natural death, but he bore the marks of throttling and violence, and the opinion was that he had been taken off by the very men who had engaged his services.

XLIII. Of course this induced Lucullus to withdraw even more from public life. And when Cicero was banished from the city, and Cato was sent out to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Even before his death, it is said that his understanding was affected and gradually faded away. But Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus lost his mind not from old age, nor yet from disease, but that he was disabled by drugs administered to him by one of his freedmen, Callisthenes; that the drugs were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more of his love, in the belief that they had such a power, but they drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason

ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν διοικεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπέθανε, καθάπερ ἂν[1] ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἠχθέσθη καὶ συνέδραμε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κομισθὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων νεανίσκων ἐβιάζετο θάπτειν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ
3 Ἄρεως, ὅπου καὶ Σύλλαν ἔθαψεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκήσαντος, οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίας οὔσης τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ παραιτούμενος ἔπεισεν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ἐν τῷ περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἀγρῷ τοῦ νεκροῦ κηδείαν γενέσθαι. πολὺν δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς προσεβίω χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ μικρὸν ἀπελείφθη, καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, φιλαδελφότατος γενόμενος.

ΚΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις εὐδαιμονίσειε τοῦ τέλους 521
Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἣν ἤδη κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐτεκταίνετο τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἔφθη προαποθανὼν καὶ καταλύσας ἐν νοσούσῃ μέν, ἔτι δ' ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τὸν βίον. καὶ τοῦτό γε πάντων αὐτῷ [illegible] Κίμωνα κοινότατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος [illegible] ταραγμένων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλ' [illegible] ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου [illegible] ὤν, οὐκ ἀπειρηκὼς οὐδ' ἀλύων, [illegible] τῶν στρατηγιῶν καὶ τῶν

[illegible] by Reiske.

so that even while he was still alive, his brother managed his property. However, when he died,[1] the people grieved just as much as if his death had come at the culmination of his military and political services, and flocked together, and tried to compel the young nobles who had carried the body into the forum to bury it in the Campus Martius, where Sulla also had been buried. But no one had expected this, and preparations for it were not easy, and so his brother, by prayers and supplications, succeeded in persuading them to suffer the burial to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he himself long survive Lucullus, but, as in age and reputation he came a little behind him, so did he also in the time of his death, having been a most affectionate brother.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

I. One might deem Lucullus especially happy in his end, from the fact that he died before that constitutional change had come, which fate was already contriving by means of the civil wars. His country was in a distempered state when he laid down his life, but still she was free. And in this respect, more than any other, he is like Cimon. For Cimon also died before Greece was confounded, and while she was at the acme of her power. He died, however, in the field, and at the head of an army, not exhausted or of a wandering mind, nor yet

[1] About 57 B.C.

τροπαίων ἔπαθλον ποιούμενος εὐωχίας καὶ πότους, ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐπισκώπτει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, τοῖς εὖ βεβιωκόσι φάσκοντας ἀποκεῖσθαι γέρας
3 ἐν ᾅδου μέθην αἰώνιον. σχολὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡσυχία καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἡδονήν τινα καὶ θεωρίαν ἔχοντας εὐπρεπέστατον ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ πεπαυμένῳ πολέμων καὶ πολιτείας παραμύθιον· τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἡδονήν, ὡς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἤδη λοιπὸν Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἄξια τῆς καλῆς Ἀκαδημείας, οὐδὲ τὸν Ξενοκράτη ζηλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότος
4 πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον. ὃ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν· ὑπεναντίως γὰρ ἡ νεότης τοῦ μὲν ἐπίψογος καὶ ἀκόλαστος γεγονέναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένη καὶ σώφρων. βελτίων οὖν ᾧ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἡ μεταβολή· χρηστοτέρα γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἐν ᾗ γηρᾷ μὲν τὸ χεῖρον, ἐπακμάζει δὲ τὸ ἄμεινον.

Καὶ μὴν ὁμοίως γε πλουτήσαντες οὐχ ὁμοίως
5 διέθεντο τὸν πλοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον ὁμοιῶσαι τῷ νοτίῳ τείχει τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ὃ τοῖς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος κομισθεῖσιν ἐτελέσθη χρήμασι, τοὺς ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει θαλάμους καὶ τὰς περικλύστους ἀπόψεις, ἃς Λούκουλλος ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐξῳκοδόμει λαφύρων· οὐδέ γε τῇ Κίμωνος τραπέζῃ τὴν Λουκούλλου παραβαλεῖν, τῇ δημοκρατικῇ καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρώπῳ τὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ σατραπικήν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης πολλοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν διέτρεφεν, ἡ δ' εἰς ὀλίγους τρυφῶντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν

making feastings and revellings the crowning prize for arms and campaigns and trophies. Plato[1] banters the followers of Orpheus for declaring that for those who have lived rightly, there is laid up in Hades a treasure of everlasting intoxication. Leisure, no doubt, and quiet, and the pursuit of pleasantly speculative learning, furnish a most fitting solace for a man of years who has retired from wars and politics. But to divert fair achievements to pleasure as their final end, and then to sport and wanton at the head of Aphrodite's train, as a sequel to wars and fightings, was not worthy of the noble Academy, nor yet of one who would follow Xenocrates, but rather of one who leaned towards Epicurus. And this is the more astonishing, because, contrariwise, Cimon seems to have been of ill repute and unrestrained in his youth, while Lucullus was disciplined and sober. Better, surely, is the man in whom the change is for the better; for it argues a more wholesome nature when its evil withers and its good ripens.

And further, though both alike were wealthy, they did not make a like use of their wealth. There is no comparing the south wall of the Acropolis, which was completed with the moneys brought home by Cimon, with the palaces and sea-washed Belvideres at Neapolis, which Lucullus built out of the spoils of the Barbarians. Nor can the table of Cimon be likened to that of Lucullus; the one was democratic and charitable, the other sumptuous and oriental. The one, at slight outlay, gave daily sustenance to many; the other, at large cost, was prepared for a few luxurious livers. It may be said,

[1] *Republic*, ii. p. 363.

παρεσκευάζετο χρημάτων. εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίει διαφορὰν ὁ χρόνος· ἄδηλον γάρ, εἰ καὶ Κίμων ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ στρατηγιῶν εἰς ἀπόλεμον καὶ ἀπολίτευτον γῆρας ἀφεὶς αὑτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἂν ἐχρήσατο σοβαρᾷ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνειμένῃ διαίτῃ· καὶ γὰρ φιλοπότης καὶ πανηγυρικὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ὡς προεί-
7 ρηται, διαβεβλημένος. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας κατορθώσεις ἡδονὰς ἑτέρας ἔχουσαι τῶν χειρόνων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀσχολίαν ποιοῦσι καὶ λήθην ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καὶ φιλοτίμοις φύσεσιν. εἰ γοῦν καὶ Λούκουλλος ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγωνιζόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ ψογερώτατος καὶ φιλομεμφότατος εὑρεῖν μοι δοκεῖ διαβολὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς διαίτης.

II. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅτι μὲν ἀμφότεροι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν ἀγωνισταὶ δῆλον· ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάλῃ καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανουμένους ἔθει τινὶ παραδοξονίκας καλοῦσιν, οὕτω Κίμων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πεζομαχίας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἅμα τροπαίῳ στεφανώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα δίκαιός ἐστιν ἔχειν τινὰ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
2 καὶ μὴν Λουκούλλῳ μὲν ἡ πατρίς, Κίμων δὲ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέθηκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχούσῃ τῶν συμμάχων προσεκτήσατο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δ' ἄλλοις ἑπομένην παραλαβὼν ἅμα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐποίησε, Πέρσας μὲν ἀναγκάσας ἡττη- 52
θέντας ἐκβῆναι τῆς θαλάσσης, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ

indeed, that the difference in state was due to the difference in time. For it is at least possible that Cimon also, if he had retired after his active campaigns to an old age which knew neither war nor politics, might have led an even more ostentatious and pleasure-loving life. He was fond of wine and given to display, and his relations with women, as I have said before,[1] were scandalous. But success in strenuous achievement, affording as it does a higher pleasure, gives public-spirited and ambitious natures no time to indulge the baser appetites, which are forgotten. At any rate, if Lucullus also had ended his days in active military command, not even the most carping and censorious spirit, I think, could have brought accusation against him. Thus much concerning their manner of life.

II. In war, it is plain that both were good fighters, both on land and sea. But just as those athletes who win crowns in wrestling and the pancratium on a single day are called, by custom, "Victors-extraordinary," so Cimon, who in a single day crowned Greece with the trophies of a land and sea victory, may justly have a certain pre-eminence among generals. And further, it was his country which conferred imperial power upon Lucullus, whereas Cimon conferred it upon his. The one added his foreign conquests to a country which already ruled her allies; the other found his country obeying others, and gave her command over her allies and victory over her foreign foes, by defeating the Persians and driving them from the sea, and by persuading the Lacedaemonians voluntarily to

[1] See *Cimon*, iv. 8.

3 πείσας ἑκόντας ἐκστῆναι. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἔργον ἡγεμόνος εὐπείθειαν ἐργάσασθαι δι' εὐνοίας,[1] Λούκουλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη, Κίμων δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐθαυμάσθη· παρ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς ὃν δὲ μετέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧν ἄρχων ἐξῆλθεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ὧν ἑτέροις ποιήσων τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐξεπέμφθη, τούτοις αὐτὸς διδοὺς τὸ παράγγελμα κατέπλευσε, τρία τὰ πάντων δυσκολώτατα διαπεπραγμένος ὁμοῦ τῇ πόλει, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰρήνην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁμόνοιαν.

4 Μεγάλας τοίνυν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀμφότεροι καταλύειν ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἀτελεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν πράξεων, ὁ μὲν καθάπαξ διὰ τὴν τύχην· ἐτελεύτησε γὰρ στρατηγῶν καὶ εὐημερῶν· τὸν δ' οὐ παντελῶς ἄν τις ἐξέλοιτο τῆς παρ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας, εἴτ' ἠγνόησεν εἴτ' οὐκ ἐθεράπευσε τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ διαφορὰς καὶ μέμψεις, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τηλικαύτας
5 ἀπεχθείας προῆλθεν. ἢ τοῦτό γε καὶ πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ὑπήγαγόν τε εἰς δίκας οἱ πολῖται καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξωστράκισαν, ἵν' αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς φωνῆς μὴ ἀκούσωσιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ φύσεις ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς συνᾴδουσι καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ προσβιαζόμεναι τῷ κατευθύνειν διαστρεφομένους ἀνιῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν δεσμοί, καίπερ εἰς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν

[1] εὐνοίας with S : εὔνοιαν.

relinquish the command. Granted that it is the most important task of a leader to secure prompt obedience through good will, Lucullus was despised by his own soldiers, while Cimon was admired by the allies. His soldiers deserted the one; the allies came over to the other. The one came back home abandoned by those whom he commanded when he set out; the other was sent out with allies to do the commands of others, but before he sailed home he himself gave commands to those allies, having successfully secured for his city three of the most difficult objects at once, namely, peace with the enemy, leadership of the allies, and concord with the Lacedaemonians.

Again, both attempted to subvert great empires and to subdue all Asia, and both left their work unfinished: Cimon through ill fortune pure and simple, for he died at the head of his army and at the height of his success; but Lucullus one cannot altogether acquit of blame, whether he was ignorant of, or would not attend to the grievances and complaints among his soldiery, in consequence of which he became so bitterly hated. Or perhaps this has its counterpart in the life of Cimon, for he was brought to trial by his fellow citizens and finally ostracised, in order that for ten years, as Plato says,[1] they might not hear his voice. For aristocratic natures are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural

[1] *Gorgias*, p. 516.

ἄγοντες τὰς παραρθρήσεις. ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἀπαλλακτέον τῆς αἰτίας ἑκάτερον.

III. Πολὺ δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος προῆλθε τῷ πολέμῳ τόν τε Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος, καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβὰς καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ὄψει τῶν βασιλέων, Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Κάβειρα καὶ Σινώπην καὶ
2 Νίσιβιν, ἑλὼν καὶ καταφλέξας, καὶ τὰ μὲν βόρεια μέχρι Φάσιδος, τὰ δ' ἑῷα μέχρι Μηδίας, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν οἰκειωσάμενος διὰ τῶν Ἀραβικῶν βασιλέων, συντρίψας δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν βασιλέων, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ μόνου τοῦ τὰ σώματα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ θηρίων εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ ὕλας ἀστιβεῖς καὶ ἀβάτους ἀποδι-
3 δρασκόντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα· Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα πεπονθότες ὑπὸ Κίμωνος εὐθὺς ἀντετάττοντο τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τήν γε πολλὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κρατήσαντες διέφθειραν, Τιγράνου δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτου μετὰ Λούκουλλον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἤδη καὶ συγκεκομμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀγώνων οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐτόλμησε δεῖξαι Πομπηΐῳ τὴν δύναμιν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ φυγὼν εἰς Βόσπορον
4 κατέβη κἀκεῖ κατέστρεψε, Τιγράνης δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον φέρων ὑπέρριψε Πομπηΐῳ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόμενος ἔθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, οὐ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κολακεύων Πομπήϊον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου τεθριαμβευμένοις. ἠγάπησε γοῦν ἀπολαμβάνων τὰ σύμβολα τῆς βασιλείας ὡς ἀφῃρημένος πρότερον.

position. Perhaps, then, both come off about alike on this count.

III. But Lucullus was much the greater in war. He was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia,—Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, before the eyes of their kings; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests. Strong proof of his superiority is seen in this, that the Persians, since they had suffered no great harm at the hands of Cimon, straightway arrayed themselves against the Greeks, and overwhelmed and destroyed that large force of theirs in Egypt;[1] whereas, after Lucullus, Tigranes and Mithridates availed nothing: the latter, already weak and disabled by his first struggles, did not once dare to show Pompey his forces outside their camp, but fled away to the Bosporus, and there put an end to his life; as for Tigranes, he hastened to throw himself, while unrobed and unarmed, at the feet of Pompey, and taking the diadem from off his head, laid it there upon the ground, flattering Pompey thus not with his own exploits, but with those for which Lucullus had celebrated a triumph. At any rate, he was as much delighted to get back the insignia of his royalty as though he had been robbed of them before. Greater therefore is the general, as is the

[1] 454 B.C. See Thucydides, i. 109 f.

μείζων οὖν στρατηγός, ὥσπερ ἀθλητής, ὁ τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσθενέστερον παραδοὺς τὸν ἀντίπαλον.

5 Ἔτι τοίνυν Κίμων μὲν συντετριμμένην τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα συνεσταλμένον ἥτταις μεγάλαις καὶ ἀπαύστοις φυγαῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Παυσανίου καὶ Λεωτυχίδου καταλαβὼν ἐπενέβη καὶ ὑποπεπτωκότων καὶ προηττημένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα ῥᾳδίως ἐνίκησε, Λουκούλλῳ δὲ Τιγράνης ἀήττητος 5 ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μέγα φρονῶν συνέπεσε.

6 πλήθει δ' οὐδ' ἄξιον παραβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ Λούκουλλον συνελθοῦσι τοὺς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος κρατηθέντας. ὥστε πάντη μεταλαμβάνοντι δυσδιαίτητον εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέροις ἔοικεν εὐμενὲς γενέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἃ χρὴ κατορθοῦν, τῷ δ' ἃ φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ προμηνῦον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ὡς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ θείοις τὴν φύσιν ἀμφοτέροις.

athlete, who hands over his antagonist to his successor in a weaker plight.

Moreover, and still further, Cimon made his onsets when the power of the king had been broken, and the pride of the Persians humbled by great defeats and incessant routs at the hands of Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychides, and easily conquered the bodies of men whose spirits had been defeated beforehand and lay prone. But when Tigranes encountered Lucullus, he had known no defeat in many battles, and was in exultant mood. In point of numbers also, those who were overpowered by Cimon are not worthy of comparison with those who united against Lucullus. Therefore, one who takes everything into consideration finds it hard to reach a decision. Heaven seems to have been kindly disposed to both, directing the one as to what he must perform, and the other as to what he must avoid. Both, therefore, may be said to have received the vote of the gods as noble and god-like natures.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acestodorus, possibly the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, author of a work "On Cities."

Achaia, a province in the north of Peloponnesus, seat of the Achaean League (280–146 B.C.). In 167 B.C., the Romans deported 1000 Achaeans to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years. Among them was the historian Polybius. The name Achaia was afterwards given to the whole of southern Greece as a Roman province.

Acharnae, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Adiabené, the western province of Assyria, lying along the Tigris river.

Aeolian Isles, a group of islands lying between Sicily and Italy (Lucania).

Aeschines the Socratic, a disciple of Socrates, and author of Socratic dialogues.

Agesilaüs, king of Sparta 398–361 B.C.

Albania, a country lying between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus mountains, to the east of Iberia.

Allia, an insignificant stream, joining the Tiber about eleven miles above Rome, from the east.

Amisus, a city of Pontus (or Paphlagonia), on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, some one hundred miles east of Sinopé.

Ammon, a Libyan divinity, identified with Zeus and Jupiter. His most famous oracle was in an oasis of the Libyan desert.

Amphiaraüs, a mythical seer and prophet, king of Argos, who perished in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

Anaxagoras, of Clazomenae, in Ionian Asia Minor, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles secured his banishment.

Andocides, an Athenian orator, prominent 415–390 B.C. He betrayed the oligarchical party, incurring its hatred, and vainly tried to win the favour of the democratic party.

Andros, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S.E. of Euboea.

Anio, a large river of Latium, rising in the Apennines, and joining the Tiber about three miles above Rome, from the east.

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria 223–187 B.C.

Antiochus the philosopher, of Ascalon, pupil of Philo in the school of the Academy, a friend of Lucullus, and a teacher of Cicero. He died in 68 B.C.

Antipater, regent of Macedonia after the death of Alexander (322 B.C.), victor over the confederate Greeks at Crannon, in Thessaly, 322. He died in 319.

Araxes, a large river rising in Armenia, and flowing east into the Caspian Sea.

Arbela, an Assyrian town near which (at the village of Gaugamela) Darius suffered final defeat at the hands of Alexander, in 331 B.C.

Archelaüs, of Miletus, the natural philosopher, said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a teacher of Socrates.

Archidamus, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 B.C., when he went to the aid of the Tarentines in Italy, and was killed in battle.

Archon *Eponymous*, the first of the board of nine archons at Athens, so called, after the Roman conquest, because the year was registered in his name.

Aristogeiton, slayer, with Harmodius, of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias, in 514 B.C. The two "tyrannicides" were afterwards honoured as patriots and martyrs.

Ariston of Ceos, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens about 225 B.C. (pp. 9, 217).

Ariston the philosopher (p. 355), of Chios, a Stoic, pupil of Zeno. In his later life he taught doctrines of the Cynic school. He flourished about 260 B.C., and is often confounded with Ariston of Ceos.

Aristoxenus the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school.

Armenia, a country lying north of Mesopotamia and Assyria, between the upper Euphrates and Media.

Artaxata, the ancient capital of Armenia, on the river Araxes. See *Tigranocerta*.

Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, vassal of Xerxes, who distinguished herself in the battle of Salamis.

Asopis, a mythical personage, mother of Mentor by Heracles.

Atilius, M. Atilius Regulus, consul for the second time in 256 B.C., when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.

Atropatené, a province of Media, to the east of Armenia.

Attalus, the name of three kings of Pergamum, in Asia Minor.

B

Bithynia, a country of N.W. Asia Minor, lying east of the Propontis, and along the coast of the Euxine Sea.

Boëdromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brundisium, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic Sea.

C

Cabeira (or Cabira), a city of Pontus, in the northern part of Asia Minor.

Caepio, Q. Servilius, consul in 106 B.C., receiving the province of Gallia Narbonensis, where, in the following year, on the 6th of October, his army was utterly annihilated by the Cimbri.

Callisthenes, of Olynthus, a relative and pupil of Aristotle, author of a *Hellenica*, or History of Greece, from 387 to 357 B.C. He accompanied Alexander the Great as historian of the expedition, the end of which he did not live to see.

Cappadocia, a district in eastern Asia Minor, south of Pontus, and north of Cilicia.

Carneades, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129 B.C. He was famous for the persuasive force of his eloquence.

Chaeroneia, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.

Chalcedon, a city of Bithynia, at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, opposite Byzantium.

Chaldaeans, a general name for the inhabitants of Babylonia.

Charon of Lampsacus, a "logographer," a predecessor of Herodotus, who wrote a history of Persia in annalistic form.

Chelidonian Isles, a group of islands off the coast of Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor.

Chersonese (*i.e.* peninsula), here (p. 447) of the Thracian Chersonese, extending in a S.W. direction into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.

Cilicia, a country in southern Asia Minor, extending along the Mediterranean between Pamphylia and Syria.

Cimbri, a northern tribe which, joining with the Teutones, invaded southern Europe. They were at last annihilated by Marius in 101 B.C.

Citium, a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.

Cleidemus, the oldest annalist of Athens, who flourished during the closing years of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Cleisthenes, the Athenian aristocrat who introduced the democratic reforms which followed the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 B.C.

Cleitarchus (Clitarchus), a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a rhetorical history of it. He was the son of Deinon.

Cleonae, a city nearly midway between Argos and Corinth in Peloponnesus. The Nemean games were celebrated in its territory.

Cnidus, a Dorian city in the S.W. of Caria, in south-western Asia Minor.

Colchis, a district at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, north of Armenia.

Colophon, one of the cities of Ionian Asia Minor.

Corcyra, an island in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfú.

Cos, an island off the S.W. coast of Caria, opposite Cnidus.

Crannon, a town in central Thessaly, the seat of the wealthy family of the Scopadae.

Craterus the Macedonian, a half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (*ob.* 239 B.C.), who compiled historical documents, such as decrees and other published inscriptions, bearing on the history of Athens.

Critias, one of the "thirty tyrants" (404–403 B.C.), like Alcibiades a follower of Socrates, author of tragedies, and elegiac poems on political subjects.

Cronus, the father of Zeus, identified with the Roman Saturnus.

Curius, Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., in which year he brought the long war with the Samnites to a close and reduced the revolted Sabines. In 275 B.C., he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290, and one in 275.

Cyanean Isles, two islands at the mouth of the Bosporus, at the entrance into the Euxine Sea, the clashing isles of mythology.

Cymé, an Aeolian city on the coast of Asia Minor, S.E. of Lesbos.

Cyrené, a Greek city on the northern coast of Africa, in commercial relations with Carthage, Greece, and Egypt.

Cyzicus, a city on the southern shore of the Propontis, in Mysia, strongly situated on the neck of a peninsula.

D

Damastes, of Sigeium in the Troad, a historian contemporary with Herodotus, and author, besides many other works, of a genealogy of the Greeks who fought at Troy.

Deceleia, a mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia.

Deinon (Dinon), of Colophon, author of a History of Persia, father of Cleitarchus the historian of Alexander's expedition.

Demetrius of Phalerum, regent at Athens for Cassander 317–307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Diodorus the Topographer (Periegetes), of Athens (probably), a contemporary of Alexander the Great, wrote on the demes and monuments of Attica.

Dion, of Syracuse, an ardent disciple of Plato, master of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II, assassinated in 353 B.C.

Dodona, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

E

Elaea, an Aeolic city of Asia Minor, the port for Pergamum.

Epaminondas, Theban general and statesman, friend of Pelopidas, fell in the battle of Mantineia, 362 B.C.

Ephesus, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in Lydia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Cayster.

Ephors, five chief magistrates at Sparta elected annually. The first Ephor gave his name to the year, like the Athenian Archon *Eponymous*.

Ephorus, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epicurus, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.

Eratosthenes, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275–194 B.C.

Eumenes, king of Pergamum in Asia Minor from 197 to 159 B.C., and like his father (Attalus I), a persistent friend of Rome.

Eurymedon, a river flowing through Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor, into the Mediterranean.

F

Fabricius, C. Fabricius Luscinus, like Curius and Atilius a representative of the sterling virtues of the more ancient times, ambassador to Pyrrhus at Tarentum after the disastrous battle of Heracleia, 280 B.C., consul in 278 B.C., censor in 275, with the severity of a Cato.

G

Gabinian way, Via Gabina (earlier called Via Tiburtina), leading eastwards from Rome to Tibur (Tivoli).

Galatia, a district in central Asia Minor.

Gordyené, a district of southern Armenia, lying east of the river Tigris.

Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, famous for his eloquence, came on an embassy to Athens in 427 B.C., when sixty years of age, and spent the rest of his life in that and neighbouring cities, amassing great wealth as a paid teacher of rhetoric.

Granicus, a river of Troas, flowing north into the Propontis.

H

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, implacable enemy of the Romans,

father of Hannibal, and founder of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, died in 229 B.C.

Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

Helots, a name given to the original inhabitants of Laconia who had lost both land and freedom. They were state slaves. See *Perioeci*.

Heracleia (p. 423), called Pontica, to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name, a city of Bithynia (or Phrygia Minor) on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Heracleides, called Ponticus from his birth in Heracleia Pontica, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.C. Little is known about him, though he is often quoted by Cicero.

Hippocrates, the second of that name, and the most famous physician of ancient times, 460–357 B.C.

Hyrcanian Sea, another name for the Caspian Sea, from the province of Hyrcania to the S.E. of it.

I

Iberia, a country east of Colchis, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month in March, May, July, and October; the thirteenth in the other months.

Idomeneus, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), author of biographical works on "The Socratics," and "The Demagogues."

Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. After her death she was worshipped as Leuocthea, a sea goddess. According to one of the many myths connected with her name, she became mad with jealousy of a female slave, and slew her own son. See *Plutarch, Roman Questions*, 16.

Ion, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isocrates, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436–338 B.C.

J

Jason, the great hero of the Argonautic expedition, husband of Medeia.

L

Lamptrae, name of two demes, or townships, in S.E. Attica.

Lemnos, a large island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Leucothea. See *Ino*.

Lycaonia, a district in central Asia Minor, between Galatia and Cilicia.

Lycurgus, the semi-historical lawgiver of Sparta, where he was honoured as a god.

Lysias, the Attic orator, 458–378 B.C.

M

Maeotis, Lake, the modern Sea of Azov, N.E. of the Euxine Sea.

Maimacterion, the fifth month of the Attic year, corresponding nearly to our November.

Mardians, a tribe on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Marsi, an ancient people of central Italy, akin to the Sabines. After their defeat in 89 B.C., they were admitted to the Roman citizenship, with the other Italians.

Melanthius, an author of tragedies and elegiac poems, contemporary with Cimon at Athens.

Melissus, of Samos, a famous natural philosopher, a disciple of Parmenides, who led the Samians successfully against Pericles.

Mesopotamia, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers above Babylonia.

Metageitnion, the second month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our August.

Metellus Pius, Q. Caecilius, obtained the surname of Pius for persuading the people to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, from banishment. He was a successful general under Sulla, and consul with him in 80 B.C. He died about 63 B.C.

Mithridates, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly known as Mithridates the Great, 120–63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Mitylené, the largest city of Lesbos, off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Mygdonia, a district in the N.E. of Mesopotamia.

N

Nausicrates (or Naucrates), the rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates. He composed models of funeral orations for men of note.

Neanthes, of Cyzicus, a voluminous writer of history, who flourished about 240 B.C. He belonged to the school of Isocrates.

Nepos, Cornelius, Roman biographer and historian, a contemporary and friend of Cicero.

Nicomedeia, capital of Bithynia, at the N.E. corner of the Propontis.

Nisibis, the chief city of Mygdonia (*q.v.*).

Nones, the ninth day before the Ides of the Roman month, falling therefore on the seventh day of the month in March, May, July, and October, and on the fifth day of the other months.

Numantia, a city in the northern part of Spain, taken after a memorable siege by Scipio Africanus, in 134 B.C.

O

Oropus, a town and district on the northern and eastern borders (respectively) of Attica and Boeotia, much in dispute between Athenians and Thebans.

Orpheus, the mythical singer of Thrace, and one of the Argonauts.

P

Pagasae, a city in S.E. Thessaly, at the head of a gulf of the same name, famed in story as the port from which Jason set sail with the Argonauts.

Palatium, the Palatine hill of Rome.

Pamphylia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, between Lycia and Cilicia.

Panaetius, of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.

Parthia, in the time of Lucullus, a vast realm to the east of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.

Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C., and during seventeen of the thirty-three years thereafter.

Pelopidas, Theban general and statesman, bosom friend of Epaminondas, killed in battle 364 B.C.

Pergamum (or Pergamus), an ancient city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, on the river Caïcus. After 283 B.C., it was the seat of the Attalid dynasty.

Perioeci, the name of those inhabitants of Sparta who kept their lands and personal liberty, unlike the Helots, but who did not exercise the rights of citizenship.

Perseus (pp. 347, 363), the last king of Macedonia, son of Philip V. He graced the triumph of Aemilius Paulus in 167 B.C., and died at Rome several years later.

Perseus (p. 411), the famous Argive hero, son of Zeus and Danaë, slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.

Phalerum, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified the Peiraeus.

Phanias, the Lesbian, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history,—a historical romancer.

Phanodemus, a writer of Attic annals, after the manner of Cleidemus (*q.v.*).

Pharnacia, a city of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Euxine, N.E. of Cabeira.

Phasis, a river of Colchis, flowing into the Euxine at its eastern end.

Philip (p. 139), of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, secured the leadership of Greece in the battle at Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.

Philip (p.335), Philip V of Macedon, father of Perseus, from 216 B.C. till his death in 179 a formidable enemy of Rome.

Philo (p. 607), the Academic, of Larissa, removed from Athens to Rome about 88 B.C., where he was teacher of Cicero, and where he died about 80 B.C.

Phlya, a deme, or township, somewhere in the N.E. of Attica.

Phrygia, a large province in western and north-western Asia Minor.

Phylarchus, of Naucratis and Athens, a Greek historian who flourished about 220 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his *Agis and Cleomenes*.

Pitané, an ancient Aeolian city on the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Polybius, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born about 204 B.C., one of the Achaean exiles (see *Achaia*) in 167. In Rome, he resided in the house of Aemilius Paulus, and became the intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.

Pontus, a large district in N.E. Asia Minor, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine.

Potamus, the name of a deme, or township, in eastern Attica.

Propontis, the intermediate sea between the Aegean and the Euxine, connected with the former by the Hellespont, with the latter by the Thracian Bosporus.

Pydna, a town on the Thermaïc gulf, S.E. of Macedonia.

Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus from 295 till his death in 272 B.C. From 280 till 274 he was campaigning in Italy and Sicily.

S

Sabines, a people occupying the western slopes of the central Apennines, in Italy. They were finally subdued by Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C., and in 268 became Roman citizens.

Sallust, C. Sallustius Crispus, 86–34 B.C. He was a partisan of Caesar, who made him governor of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth. He afterwards wrote histories of the conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine war.

Samnites, inhabitants of Samnium, the mountainous district of central Italy lying between Latium and Apulia. In 290 B.C. Curius Dentatus won the honour of putting an end to the Samnite wars after they had lasted fifty years.

Samothrace, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Scepsis, an ancient town east of the Troad, which in later times became subject to Pergamum, and a seat of learning.

Scopas, the Thessalian. See *Crannon*.

Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian monarchy, 353–280 B.C.

Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica, proverbial for poverty and insignificance.

Sertorius, one of the greatest soldiers bred by the Roman civil wars, who successfully opposed the best generals of the aristocratic party in Spain from 82 B.C. till his assassination in 72.

Sicyon, an important city in N.E. Peloponnesus, about two miles south of the Corinthian gulf.

Simonides of Ceos, one of the greatest lyric poets of Greece, 556–467 B.C.

Sinopé, an important Greek city on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, in N.E. Paphlagonia.

Sophené, a district of S.W. Armenia.

Sophists, a general name for paid teachers of rhetoric and philosopy, like Gorgias.

Stesimbrotus, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note in Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

Sthenis, of Olynthus, a famous statuary at Athens, who flourished about 350 B.C.

Strabo, the geographer (philosopher, p. 565), lived during the times of Augustus.

T

Talaura, a stronghold in Pontus.

Tanagra, a town and district in S.E. Boeotia.

Tarentum, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius in 209.

Taurus, a general name for the lofty range of mountains extending from Lycia in Asia Minor through Cilicia and south of Armenia into Media.

Tegea, an ancient city in S.E. Arcadia, of Peloponnesus.

Tempé, a famous valley in N.E. Thessaly.

Tenedos, an island about five miles west of the Troad, in the N.E. Aegean.

Tenos, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica.

Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our May.

Themiscyra, a plain and city in Pontus, near the mouth of the river Thermodon.

Theophrastus, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360–336 B.C.).

Tibareni, a tribe on the northern coast of Pontus.

Tigranocerta, the city of Tigranes, later capital of Armenia, in Mygdonia, west of Nisibis, just south of the Taurus.

Tigris, the great river rising in Armenia and flowing between Mesopotamia and Assyria.

Timocreon, of Rhodes, a lyric poet, now known chiefly for his hatred of Themistocles and Simonides of Ceos.

Timoleon, of Corinth, rescued Syracuse from its tyrant (Dionysius II) and the Carthaginians in 343 B.C., and became virtual master of Sicily, though without office. He died in Syracuse, 337 B.C.

Troezen, a city in S.E. Argolis, of Peloponnesus.

Trophonius, received worship and had an oracle in a cave near Lebadeia in Boeotia.

Tubero the Stoic p. 599), Q. Aelius, a pupil of Panaetius, flourished in the century before Lucullus, and could not have seen him playing Xerxes. The jest may have come from Lucius Tubero, the relative and intimate friend of Cicero, who cultivated literature and philosophy.

Tusculum, an ancient city of Latium, fifteen miles S.E. of Rome, in the Alban mountains. It became a favourite resort of wealthy Romans.

Tyrannio the Grammarian, of Amisus in Pontus. He was taken to Rome by Lucullus, where he became a teacher, was patronised and praised by Cicéro, and amassed wealth.

V

Vesta, an ancient Roman divinity, identical with the Greek Hestia as goddess of the hearth and fireside. The Vestals were her virgin priestesses.

X

Xenocrates, of Chalcedon, 396–314 B.C., a pupil and disciple of Plato, became head of the Academy in 339 B.C.

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